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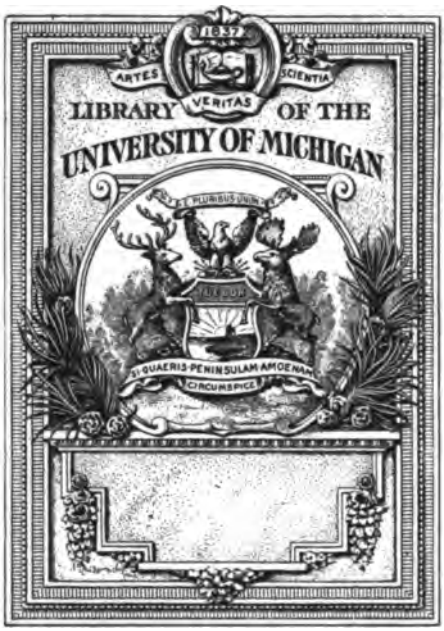
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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOLUME II.

October, 1907--July, 1908.

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THE RETIREMENT OF THOMAS H. BENTON FROM THE SENATE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. *

I.

The most conspicuous and significant events in the history of the dissensions in the Democratic party in Missouri during the decade 1844-54 appear to have sprung from the bitter personal and political hostility existing between Senator Thomas H. Benton and John C. Calhoun, and from the clash between the views held by each with respect to Congressional power and policy in regard to slavery in the Territories. These events for the greater part center about the retirement of Thomas H. Benton from the Senate of the United States, and the struggle to bring about his restoration. (1)

The causes of Senator Benton's retirement began to appear as early as 1844. (2) In the beginning, the principal causes were his attitude toward Mr. Calhoun and the policies

* This article is a condensation of two chapters in a more extended work, entitled, "The Genesis of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise," upon which the author is now engaged.

1. 4 Provinces and States, 108.

2. 4 Provinces and States, 84.

for which Mr. Calhoun stood, and especially his attitude toward the plans of the aggressive and radical pro-slavery element in the Missouri Democracy which derived its principles from the great Nullifier. (3) Since the time when Colonel Benton had defended and supported President Jackson in his policy toward Nullification in South Carolina, Mr. Calhoun and Senator Benton has been personal and political enemies. (4) With his characteristically fearless and energetic opposition, the latter had been conspicuously instrumental in defeating Mr. Calhoun's scheme for the "immediate" annexation of Texas by the treaty signed 12 April, 1844, and rejected by the Senate on the 12th of June in the same year. (5)

In retaliation, an active organization of the friends of Mr. Calhoun and the "immediate" annexation of Texas appeared in the state of Missouri when the time came round late in 1844 for Mr. Benton's fifth election. This movement had the support, so Colonel Benton claimed, of "every Calhoun man and every Calhoun newspaper in the state and in the United States." (6)

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3. In assigning the causes which led to Benton's retirement one must not overlook those repellent personal characteristics which no doubt played a considerable part in his overthrow. These, taken with his long residence in Washington which removed him from close and sympathetic contact with the younger generation of Missourians and from a first-hand knowledge of actual conditions in Missouri, probably had a great deal to do in undermining his power and in strengthening the arm of his enemies. A brief but excellent statement of these peculiarities of Benton is to be found in the work of his recent biographer, Roger's Life of Thomas Hart Benton, 228, 283, 297, 312-313, 315, 318; hereafter cited as Rogers' Benton.

4. "I am mortified to dwell upon Mr. Calhoun.....He has been instigating attacks upon me for twenty years—ever since I stood by Jackson and the Union in the first war of nullification. His Duff Green Telegraph commenced upon me at the same time that it did upon Jackson, and for the same cause—because we stood by the Union." Benton's speech, Jefferson City, Mo., 26 May, 1849.

5. 2 Benton's View, 582 ff., especially 467. See also Benton's Jefferson City speech; 2 Stephens' The War Between the States, 242; Calhoun's Correspondence. (Report Amer. Hist. Assn., 1899) 633, 635, 636, 658.

6. "In the year 1844, as it will be remembered, when my fifth election was coming round, there was an organization against me in the State, supported by every Calhoun man, and every Calhoun newspaper in the State and in the United States. There was a co-incidence in their operations which showed that they worked by a pattern. I knew at the time where it all came from; and the source has since been authentically revealed to me...." Benton's Jefferson City speech.

Instructions alleged to have been inspired by Mr. Calhoun were sent to hundreds of newspapers over the country, intended for their guidance in the presidential and state elections and especially for Mr. Benton's own election. These instructions advised and urged attacks upon Benton by showing that he had allied himself with the Whigs on the Texas question. "Quote," said the instructions, "Jackson's letter on Texas, (7) where he denounces all those as traitors to the country who oppose the treaty. Apply it to Benton. Proclaim that Benton, by attacking Mr. Tyler and his friends, and driving them from the party, is aiding the election of Mr. Clay; and charge him with doing this to defeat Mr. Polk, and insure himself the succession in 1848; and claim that full justice be done the acts and motives of John Tyler by the leaders. Harp upon these strings...." (8). So far as Missouri was concerned it apears that the instructions were obeyed to the letter. (9)

This effort of Mr. Calhoun and his friends to discredit Colonel Benton by emphasizing his opposition to the annexation of Texas was probably the strongest move which could have been made at that time to undermine Benton's political supremacy in Missouri. An overwhelming majority of the people of that State ardently favored the acquisition of Texas. (10) The Legislature which met in December, 1844,

7. Letter of Andrew Jackson to William B. Lewis, 28 Jan. 1844, in 4 Bulletin N. Y. Public Library, 308. (Sept., 1900.)

8. Quoted in Benton's Jefferson City speech.

9. "How well the instructions were obeyed was seen in this State, and in other States, and in all the presses and politicians which followed the lead of 'our leading friend of the South.' Benton-Clay-Whigs-Texas. Harp upon these strings, and harp they did until the strings were worn out; and then the harps were hung upon the willows." Benton's Jefferson City speech.

10. "The State of Missouri is more deeply interested in the annexation of Texas than any other State." Benton's remarks in the Senate, in presenting this memorial, 20 Jan., 1845; 14 Cong. Globe, 154-155. See also 2 Benton's View, 615; Carr's Missouri, 193-199, Calhoun's Correspondence, 633, 635, 636, 658, 954, 969, 1197, 1199. The people of Missouri were "for speedy annexation regardless of the smiles or frown of foreign nations;" letter of Andrew Jackson to B. F. Butler, 14 May, 1844, printed in 11 Am. Hist. Rev. 833. See also 67 Niles Register, 42 (21 Sept., 1844) quoting the Richmond Whig; 4 Provinces and States, Ch. IX.

Senator Atchison, then serving his first term in the Senate, warmly supported Mr. Calhoun's annexation scheme; 72 Niles Register, 278, quoting the Missouri Republican.

passed a memorial to Congress urging the annexation of Texas at the "earliest practicable moment." Before the final adoption of this memorial, the friends of Mr. Calhoun attempted to amend it so as to urge the "immediate annexation," but in this they failed. (11)

Despite these assaults upon his position respecting Texas, Colonel Benton was triumphantly re-elected to the Senate in January, 1845; and at the beginning of his fifth term he was without any question the most powerful man in Missouri politics. Prior to 1844 it had been supposed to be "political death for any man to even whisper a breath against 'Old Bullion,' the idol of Missouri." (12) The attacks upon him which appear in the campaign of that year had been inspired by parties outside the State. One effect seems to have been the encouragement of radical pro-slavery men and the enemies of Benton within the State to unite and form a more perfect organization—an organization having for one of its main purposes the overthrow of Senator Benton as the controlling factor in Missouri politics. (13) In addition to the ardent friends of Mr. Calhoun, these enemies comprised all those who for one reason or another had become restive and discontented under the political absolutism which for more than twenty years Colonel Benton had enjoyed. (14)

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11. As a rejoinder to this attempt, a set of resolutions, inspired by Colonel Benton and very well indicating his feeling toward Mr. Calhoun at this time, was offered as a substitute for the memorial finally adopted. They may be found in 67 Niles Register, 278, (4 Jan., 1845.)

12. From a statement by Judge William C. Price, an influential opponent of Benton, reported by William E. Connelley, Esq., of Topeka, Kansas. See also Meigs' Benton, 405 ff.

13. The following statement was reduced to writing by Roland Hughes, Esq., of Kansas City, Mo., and given to Mr. Connelley, to whom I am indebted for it: "General David R. Atchison told me, in a conversation at his house, under the shade of an oak tree in his front yard, about three years before his death (which occurred in 1886) these words, 'Claiborne F. Jackson, Trusten Polk, William C. Price and I, entered into a conspiracy to defeat and destroy Benton. We succeeded in defeating Benton, but by God, it retired Dave Atchison from public life.'" Unfortunately the statement gives no date for the formation of this "conspiracy," but there is good reason for thinking that it must have been in 1844 or 1845. See 4 Provinces and States, 84.

14. On Benton's political absolutism see Meigs' Life of Benton, 403, ff., especially 408-409.

Perhaps no individual at the beginning of the war upon Benton was more active and influential in uniting into a highly efficient political machine all those elements in the Missouri Democracy which were hostile, or inclined to be hostile, to Senator Benton than Judge William C. Price, a cousin of Sterling Price, the Confederate General. It appears that Judge Price was in close and constant communication with Mr. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, John C. Breckenridge, Robert Tombs and Judah P. Benjamin; and that upon the subject of slavery he was a radical of the radicals. He was a man of an intensely religious nature, and a firm believer in the righteousness of slavery. The perpetuation and extension of the "peculiar institution" he sincerely believed to be indispensable to the welfare of Missouri and of the South. Missouri, he was convinced, could not long remain a slave State with Iowa free on the North, Illinois free on the East, and a free State on the West. Missouri must therefore contrive in some way to remove the chief obstacle to the extension of slavery westeward, namely the Missouri Compromise prohibition of slavery in the country west of that State. With the zeal of a fanatic, tempered by sound political discretion, Judge Price visited all parts of the State of Missouri, urging upon politicians the special interest which the slaveholders of the State had in bringing about in the near future the abrogation of the old Compromise inhibition. He even went so far as to suggest that abrogation to Senator Benton some time in the year 1844. Instantly and in his characteristically brusque manner, Colonel Benton repudiated and condemned the suggestion.

Chiefly because of his opposition to Mr. Calhoun's annexation treaty and for this condemnation of the suggested repeal of the Compromise, Senator Benton was from the year 1844 marked for political annihilation by the aggressive leaders of the South, and fought to the death by the radical slavery extension faction in the Missouri Democracy. Price and Benton had been warm friends to this time. They never spoke afterwards. Judge Price registered a vow to drive Benton from public life. In the presence of a large

company gathered in a store on St. Louis street in Springfield, Missouri, he vowed he would fight Benton to the death. To make it more open and public, he wrote his determination on the walls of the store where it remained until the building was torn down after the Civil War. (15)

There is a lamentable lack of evidence disclosing the actual tactics employed by the Missouri radicals in the next three or four years. The lack may in part be fairly explained by the necessity, dictated by practical political considerations, of proceeding with more or less silence or secrecy until a strong organization could be effected.

So long as Benton's prestige in the State remained unimpaired, so long as the Federal patronage falling to the State was largely under his control, so long did he constitute the chief obstacle to the realization of the schemes of Mr. Calhoun's friends in Missouri. Until Benton's political power was destroyed it would manifestly be impracticable to openly assail the Missouri Compromise and make it a prominent issue; so for several years the repeal project does not appear on the surface, and the fight against Benton is conducted upon lines which apparently have little connection with the subject.

The next recorded event of importance in the present connection was the adoption by the Missouri Legislature, which met in December, 1846, of a set of resolutions declaring that "the peace, permanency and welfare of our nation depend upon the strict adherence to the letter and spirit" of the Missouri Compromise, and instructing the Senators, and requesting the Representatives, of the State in Congress to act "in accordance with the provisions and spirit" of the Compromise adjustment "in all questions which may

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15. To Mr. Connelley I am indebted for the facts given in the two last paragraphs in the text. Mr. Connelley was related by marriage to Judge Price, and was personally well acquainted with him. There is a brief biographical sketch of Judge Price in Mr. Connelley's The Provisional Governor of Nebraska Territory 28.

come before them in relation to the organization of new Territories or States." (16)

It is not clear that these resolutions were designed as a challenge by Benton to his enemies and to those who were hostile to the Missouri Compromise restriction to come into the open and publicly join issue; nevertheless they seem to have had the effect of a challenge. At the same session of the General Assembly Claiborne F. Jackson, a prominent radical, introduced a counter set of resolutions into the Senate. The Legislature, however, was composed of a majority of Benton men, and Benton's opponents were unable to muster sufficient strength to carry these resolutions even through the House where they originated. (17)

So rapidly did the opponents of Benton and the radical pro-slavery element in Missouri coalesce that by the time the next General Assembly met in December, 1848, they had voting strength sufficient to bring about the adoption of substantially the same resolutions which had failed at the preceding session.

These resolutions henceforth figure in Missouri history as the "Jackson Resolutions." (18) Inasmuch as they were

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16. These resolutions were approved, 15 Feb., 1847, and are to be found in 28 Cong. Globe, II, 986, 1209 and 31 ibid, 557, 726; also in Benton's Jefferson City speech, 26 May, 1849. The resolutions were presented to the House by Williard P. Hall and to the Senate by Mr. Atchison, on 21 Dec., 1847, and 31 Jan., 1848, respectively; House Journal, 1st session, 30th Cong., 138, Senate Journal, 141. See also Switzler's Missouri, 269, and the Jefferson Inquirer, 17 Dec., 1853.

17. The Missouri Republican, 3 Dec., 1853. As yet I have been unable to find a copy of the C. F. Jackson resolutions of this session, but feel confident that they did not differ essentially from those which were adopted at the next session.

18. See Davis & Durrie's Missouri 141, Paxton's Annals of Platte County, 110 (hereafter cited as Paxton's Annals), Jefferson Inquirer, 11 June and 20 Aug., 1853; Missouri House Journal, 1848-49, Appendix, 219 ff. The real author of the resolutions appears to have been Judge W. B. Napton; Meigs' Benton, 410, 4 Provinces and States, 103, ff., and Benton's speech at Fayette, Mo., 1 Sept., 1849.

designed to "instruct Benton out of the Senate," (19) they deserve somewhat detailed consideration.

The first appearance of these Resolutions in the Legislature was marked by Colonel Benton, and their origin was known to him. He determined, however, to let them go on, being well aware that some new plot was "hatching" by the friends of Mr. Calhoun who, since the failure of their plot in 1844 had been in a "perpetual state of incubation." (20) He decided to let the plot "quit its shell." He was confident, he said, that if he had given a hint of what the plotters were doing, "it would have stopped the whole proceeding." But that would have done him no good, he claimed; "it would only have postponed and changed the form of the work." Accordingly he did nothing to "alarm the operators," and wrote not a word on the subject—"not a word to any of the three hundred members who would have blown the resolutions sky-high if they had known their origin and design," a design which, Benton asserted, was unknown to the majority of the Legislature. "I do not believe," he declared, "there exceeded half a dozen members in the two Houses, all told, who were in the secret either of the origin or design" of the Jackson Resolutions. "I am certain not six members of the body had the scienter of their origin or design, or meant harm to the country or myself." (21)

The Resolutions are too long to be quoted here in full. They denied the right of Congress to legislate upon the subject of slavery "in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories." They declared that "the right to prohibit slavery in any Territory belongs exclusively to the

19. Paxton's Annals, 113; Jefferson Inquirer, 20 Aug., 1853; Roger's Benton, 275-277. "The whole conception, concoction and passage of the resolutions was done upon conspiracy, perfected by fraud. It was a plot to get me out of the Senate and out of the way of the disunion plotters." Benton's speech at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

20. Benton's speech at Jefferson City, 26 May, 1849; Meigs' Benton, 411.

21. The phrases quoted in this paragraph are from Benton's Jefferson City speech, 26 May, 1849.

people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their Constitution for a State government or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State." They declared that any Act of Congress which prevented slaveholders from taking their slave property into the Territories was "calculated to alienate one portion of the Union from another," and tended "ultimately to disunion;" (22) that in the event of the passage of any such Act by Congress, "Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the Slaveholding States in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection....." The Senators of the State in Congress were instructed, and the Representatives requested, to act in conformity to these Resolutions. (23)

Had it not been for Colonel Benton's subsequent extraordinary course in relation to these Resolutions, no more significance might have attached to them than to similar resolutions passed about the same time by the Legislatures of Florida, Virginia and South Carolina. But on the 9th day of May, 1849, Colonel Benton issued his famous "Appeal" to the people of Missouri from the legislative instructions. (24) "If they confirm the instructions," said Benton, "I shall give them an opportunity to find a Senator to carry their will into effect, as I cannot do anything to dissolve this Union, or to array one-half of it against the other." "I do not admit the dissolution of the Union," Benton continued, "to be a remedy to be prescribed by statesmen for the disease of the body politic any more than I admit death, or suicide to be a remedy for the disease of the natural body. Cure and not kill, is the only remedy which my mind can contemplate in either case....I appeal from these in-

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22. The italics are mine.

23. The Jackson Resolutions are printed in full in Switzler's Missouri, 265-266, Carr's Missouri, 223, Meigs' Benton, 409-410, 21 Cong. Globe, I, 97-98, 31 ibid, 726.

24. The "Appeal" took the form of a letter addressed to "The People of Missouri." It may be found in The Western Eagle (Cape Girardeau, Mo.) 11 May, 1849, copied from the St. Louis Union; also in 75 Niles Register, 332 (23 May, 1849).

structions to the people of Missouri—to the whole body of the people—and in due time will give my reasons for doing so....I shall abide the decision of the whole people and nothing less."

The "due time" for giving his reasons for thus appealing to the people soon arrived. On the 26th of May, 1849, in a speech of great length delivered in the hall of the House of Representatives at Jefferson City, Senator Benton denounced the Jackson Resolutions in the most unsparing terms, proclaiming Mr. Calhoun to be the real author, declaring that the Resolutions were aimed at himself and the stability of the Union, and reiterated his appeal from the action of the Legislature to the people to reverse the instructions embodied in the Resolutions. This speech, printed in pamphlet form and circulated over the State, and the vigorous canvass which Benton immediately inaugurated "set the State ablaze" (25) as had no other event in its previous history. (26) From this time until after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, the Jackson Resolutions and Benton's "Appeal" constituted the platforms or rallying points of the radical and conservative Democrats in Missouri who henceforth are usually denominated Bentonites and Anti-Bentonites.

In his Jefferson City speech, Benton affected to discern in the Jackson Resolutions the hand of his old enemy, Mr. Calhoun. The burden of his argument was to show the substantial identity of the Jackson Resolutions and the resolutions introduced into the Senate of the United States by Mr. Calhoun on the 19th day of February, 1847. If this identity could be established, Mr. Calhoun's well known hostility to Senator Benton, his doubtful loyalty to the Union, and the discredit cast upon his resolutions in the Senate would materially assist Senator Benton in the difficult task of justi-

25. Switzler's Missouri, 269. Colonel Switzler was a contemporary Whig.

26. This Jefferson City speech may be found in pamphlet form in a bound volume of pamphlets in the Missouri Historical Library, St. Louis; in pamphlet form in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Library; also in 75 Niles Register, 390 ff., 397 ff.; (20 June, 1849).

fying, before a constituency which cherished the rights of instruction as something sacred, his formal appeal from the instructions of the General Assembly.

The Jackson Resolutions, Benton declared, were "a mere copy of the Calhoun resolutions offered in the Senate" and denounced by him at the time "as a firebrand, intended for electioneering and disunion purposes." The Calhoun resolutions were the "prototype" of those of the Missouri Legislature. He could (or would) see no difference in them "but in the time contemplated for the dissolution of the Union, Mr. Calhoun's tending 'directly,' and those of Missouri, 'ultimately' to the point. In other respects they are identical." The Calhoun resolutions were "the parents" of the Jackson Resolutions. "When the original is invalidated the copy is of no avail..... He (Mr. Calhoun) is the head mover and contriver." Not only was the authorship of both sets of resolutions identical, but the purpose of each was the same, namely, "to deny the right of Congress to prevent or prohibit slavery in Territories and to denounce a dissolution of the Union if it did. One was parent to the other, and I presume no man will deny it." The real design in the Resolutions, Benton asserted at another point in his speech, was to constitute "a pledge of the State to back Mr. Calhoun in his designs to put the State under his lead," and to stop Benton's "opposition to his mad career:" to understand the Resolutions and "to see their design, you must know," Calhoun's. (27) As one might, therefore, expect, the greater part of the speech takes the form of a violent attack upon Mr. Calhoun. (28)

From the fact that the Resolutions had been introduced into the Legislature early in the session and had lain "torpid until its end," not being acted upon until after the issuance

27. At another point in this speech Benton said: the Jackson Resolutions "were copied from Mr. Calhoun; and to see their design you must know his. His were aimed at the Union.....and at the members from the slaveholding States who would not follow his lead —myself, especially."

28. See Calhoun's letter of 23 June, 1849, to Andrew Pickens Calhoun in Calhoun's Correspondence. (Rep. Am. Hist. Assn., 1899) 768-769; and The Western Eagle, 3 Aug., 1849.

structions to the people of Missouri—to the ongress, the people—and in due time will give my ntended so....I shall abide the decision of the Washington nothing less."

The "due time" for giving his reasons would sum- ing to the people soon arrived. On the in a speech of great length delivered in ever, a high of Representatives at Jefferson City, compromise, nounced the Jackson Resolutions in any such there terms, proclaiming Mr. Calhoun to not stand the claring that the Resolutions were a stability of the Union, and reiterat which he com- action of the Legislature to the p namely, that the structions embodied in the Resolut of Mr. Calhoun. in pamphlet form and circulated must understand his, vigorous canvass which Bento solution and from "set the State ablaze" (25) as l rson of the Union is vious history. (26) From this conclusion: of the Kansas-Nebraska Act annot be an instru- tions and Benton's "Appeal" or the mass of the rallying points of the radi right to have a full in Missouri who henceforth the whole matter. ites and Anti-Bentonites.

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25. Switzler's Mis mainly directed against Judge porary Whig.

26. This Jefferso one of the most bitter of in a bound volume of when before his election to St. Louis; in pamphl issued on the 15th of February, Library; also in 75

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pressed in language most unrestrained, and
progressed his utterances became more and
l and bitter. There lurked in the Jackson
he reiterated, "the spirit of nullification," of
ation to law," and of "treason." (34) Again
he denounced them as "entertaining the covert
disrupting the national Union and of misleading
le of Missouri into cooperation with the Slave-

See an editorial review of Benton's Jefferson City speech in
stern Eagle (Whig) 1 June, 1849.

. The itinerary of Senator Benton on this canvass, so far as I
been able to discover it, was as follows: On June 9th he spoke at
umbia; June 16th at Liberty; June 18th, at Platte City; July 16th,
Liberty; August 9th, at St. Joseph; Sept. 1st, at Fayette; October
h, at St. Louis; November 5th, at Ste. Genevieve; November 6th, at
erryville; and November 7th, at Jackson.

33. At Platte City, 18 June, 1849. William M. Paxton, Esq., was present and describes what took place in his Annals, pp. 117. See also Benton's speech at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

34. "The Resolutions, taken altogether, are false in their facts, incendiary in their temper, disunion in their object, nullification in their essence, high treason in their remedy, and usurpation in their character...." Benton at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

of the Calhoun Address and the adjournment of Congress, Senator Benton argued that they were not sincerely intended for the purpose of instructing him how to vote at Washington but were really intended to injure him in the summer campaign in Missouri. Then with all the energy he could summon, Benton hurled this anathema at the plotters:

"Between them and me, henceforth and forever, a high wall, and a deep ditch! and no communion, no compromise, no caucus with them.... Wo to the judges, if any such there are in this work! The children of Israel could not stand the government of Judges; nor can we...." (29)

Considering that the proposition with which he commenced his speech had been made good, namely, that the Missouri Resolutions were copied from those of Mr. Calhoun, and that to understand their design one must understand his, and that "from the words of his own resolution and from his conduct twenty years past, the subversion of the Union is intended"—Senator Benton declared in conclusion:

"In the execution of this design I cannot be an instrument, nor can I believe that the people, or the mass of the General Assembly wish it; and I deem it right to have a full understanding with my constituents on the whole matter.

"I therefore appeal from the instructions I have received, because they are in conflict with instructions already received and obeyed (30)—because they did not emanate from any known desire, or understood will, of the people—because they contain unconstitutional expositions of the Constitution which I am sworn to support—because they require me to promote disunion—because they are copied from resolutions hatched for great mischief, which I have a right to oppose, and did oppose in my place as Senator in the Senate of the United States, and which I cannot cease to oppose without personal disgrace and official dereliction of public duty—

29. The last sentence was probably directed against Judge Price, Judge Napton, Judge James H. Birch, one of the most bitter of Benton's enemies, and Senator Atchison, who, before his election to the Senate, had held a judgeship.

30. Referring to the Resolutions passed on the 15th of February, 1847, already summarized.

and because I think it due to the people to give them an opportunity to consider proceedings so gravely affecting them, and on which they have not been consulted.

"I appeal to the people—and the whole body of the people. It is a question above party, and should be kept above it. I mean to keep it there." (31)

His appeal from the legislative instructions Senator Benton immediately followed up with a canvass of the State conducted with his characteristic energy and aggressiveness. Over the entire State he went, even invading the western counties where his enemeis were most numerous and most desperate. (32) On at least one occasion the vehemence of his personal denunciation of one sitting before him threatened serious disorder. (33)

Benton's speeches on this tour of the State were in the main substantially repetitions of arguments and allegations appearing in the Jefferson City speech. In all places his opinions were expressed in language most unrestrained, and as the canvass progressed his utterances became more and more polemical and bitter. There lurked in the Jackson Resolutions, he reiterated, "the spirit of nullification," of "insubordination to law," and of "treason." (34) Again and again he denounced them as "entertaining the covert purpose of disrupting the national Union and of misleading the people of Missouri into cooperation with the Slave-

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31. See an editorial review of Benton's Jefferson City speech in The Western Eagle (Whig) 1 June, 1849.

32. The itinerary of Senator Benton on this canvass, so far as I have been able to discover it, was as follows: On June 9th he spoke at Columbia; June 16th at Liberty; June 18th, at Platte City; July 16th, at Liberty; August 9th, at St. Joseph; Sept. 1st, at Fayette; October 17th, at St. Louis; November 5th, at Ste. Genevieve; November 6th, at Perryville; and November 7th, at Jackson.

33. At Platte City, 18 June, 1849. William M. Paxton, Esq., was present and describes what took place in his Annals, pp. 117. See also Benton's speech at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

34. "The Resolutions, taken altogether, are false in their facts, incendiary in their temper, disunion in their object, nullification in their essence, high treason in their remedy, and usurpation in their character...." Benton at Fayette, 1 Sept., 1849.

holding States for that purpose." (35) Not content with condemning the Resolutions themselves, Benton assailed their authors with the bitterest diatribe and most vehement castigation, (36) mingled and interspersed liberally with profanity—in all of which arts of the western stump orator Benton was past master. As the natural result of this pouring out the vials of wrath upon his enemies, Senator Benton succeeded in stirring popular feeling most profoundly.

P. O. RAY.

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35. Switzler's Missouri, 269; Carr's Missouri, 225, ff.; Meigs' Benton, 413.

36. For a good example, see the closing remarks of Benton's Fayette speech. On his speech at St. Louis on 17 Oct., see the comment of The Western Eagle, 26 Oct., 1849.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.*

NO. 5.

HISTORY OF VICTORIA.

The unveiling of this monument today is to commemorate a heroic act. Every pioneer is a hero, because it takes the qualities of a strong and brave heart to quit home and friends and society and go out into uninhabited wilds, to blaze the way for the coming civilization.

In 1802, one hundred and two years ago, Mr. Thomas L. Bevis, a native of Georgia, went forward into a trackless forest, for there was then no road, not even a cow path, this far up the Joachim, and felled the first tree to make the first settlement, and found the first home on the land where Victoria now stands. Charles IV, a weak and profligate prince, was king of Spain, and Charles Dehault DeLassus was lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, with headquarters at St. Louis, a village of a few hundred inhabitants. Spain had dominion, and her laws prevailed here then; but she was liberal towards the pioneers; she offered them free homesteads simply for settling and living on them. Mr. Bevis was one who came to take advantage of this generous offer, and built his home near where the old C. W. S. Vinyard homestead now stands, on the other side of the creek.

But little is known of this old settler, but it is presumed he was a blacksmith, although on a small scale, for there was mentioned by his administrator, among his assets, a broken set of blacksmith tools. He probably had a wife and children when he first came to this land. We infer this from the confirmation of the land to him. In 1810 one hundred acres only were confirmed to him out of his whole claim of 640

* Report of the Committee on Landmarks, Old Settlers' Association, Jefferson County, Missouri, 1903, in an address to the Association by Judge Thomas.

a blacksmith and gunsmith, and Jones inquired into the matter, and finding that "Queen Bevers" had a motive for preventing this man from killing deer, attributed the defect in the gun to her cunning craft. To break her power over the gun, he made a paper likeness of Mrs. Bevis, and fired a silver ball through it, and very soon after Mrs. Bevis was laid up with a sore limb, and the gun was restored to its original deer-killing quality.

Rev. Sullivan Frazier told me that it was commonly reported that if an awl be stuck in the chair where a witch sits her power would be overcome, and she would be unable to rise up; so on one occasion when Mrs. Bevis visited his father when he was a mere lad, he crept behind her and stuck an awl in one of the legs of the chair in which she sat, but the charm on that occasion failed to work, and she arose with ease when the time came for her to go.

Mrs. Sullivan Frazier, who was a Lanham, says that about 1842 Mrs. Bevis visited her home. At the time her mother had seven or eight cows, and Mrs. Bevis wanted to buy one of them and picked out the one she wanted, but Mrs. Lanham would not sell that one. Next morning the cow jumped the fence and ran away, and it took the boys half a day to bring her back, and she gave bloody milk and was of no account after that.

A family of girls in the neighborhood took sick with a strange disease, and their sickness was attributed to "Queen Bevers." Sullivan Frazier's father, Joseph Frazier, was dispatched to one of the lower counties of this State for a witch doctor. He came and found a hair ball in a boil on the limb of one of the girls, and forthwith the disease was pronounced the work of a witch, and the remedy to break the charm was used and the family recovered. Why Jones was not called in on this occasion is not known.

Zack Borum had a child that was sick, and he sent for Henry H. Jones. He came and diagnosed the case as the result of the witchcraft of Mrs. Bevis. He took a vial and put a liquid and some needles in it and hung it in the chimney. In a short time Mrs. Bevis took sick, but the

child died anyhow. Mr. Borum gave Jones a side of bacon for his services in this case.

But the most remarkable instance is that told by Aaron Cook, who formerly lived near Hillsboro. He always insisted that "Queen Bevers" turned him into a horse and rode him to a ball at Meredith Wideman's across the river from Morse's Mills, hitched him to a plum bush, and left him there all night.

It would fill a volume to recount all the stories afloat about this remarkable woman. The instances of her supposed witchery given here are sufficient to show how the people regarded her. She was said to be a remarkably fine looking woman, which is contrary to our pre-conceived notion of a witch. We always picture a witch as an uncouth looking old hag. Mrs. Bevis was often told that the people regarded her as a witch and she would merely laugh at the accusation. She moved to St. Louis about 1856, and Mr. Frazier tells me that she lost her reputation as a witch in her later life. She died about 1858 or 1859.

During former days in this settlement, there was a common belief that witches made knots in horses manes in order to ride them, and these knots to this day are known as "witches' stirrups."

Another well authenticated case of the power of witchery is the case of Francis Wideman, who built the first grist mill in this county, which was about three-quarters of a mile from the site, of Morse's Mill. His brother, John wanted to grind a little corn for himself after night, Francis granted his request, but cautioned him to keep a sharp lookout for "Old Nick." John went and set the mill to going, and all at once the stones went with such velocity that John got scared, shut off the water and ran away without his grist, and reported to the neighbors as a fact that his brother had conjured up the Devil and made him interfere with the mill so he could not grind. This incident antedated the frenzy about "Queen Bevers" many years.

I have given you the biography of "Queen Bevers" because she was here over a hundred years ago to help her

husband in the founding of a home in these western wilds, and because of the superstitious beliefs of the people in regard to her. Settlers had advanced up the Joachim to Hematite and beyond, and Bevis and his wife advanced one step further west and made their home here. How they reached the place of their abode I do not know, but we all know there were no steamboats, no railroads and no wagons. How Bevis and his family penetrated this primeval forest to build a home we have to surmise only. The probability is that he walked and his wife and children came horseback, or on a sled made by himself. His house was probably built, and his furniture made by himself. There they were in the woods, without schools, without churches, without mails. Picture to yourself the situation of his family, on the very outskirts of civilization—nay, hundreds of miles from the outskirts of social life, and you can have some small conception of the character of the man and woman who founded this home one hundred and two years ago. It takes virile natures for men and women to leave friends and relatives behind, and to brave so many dangers from wild beasts and savage men to plant the banners of advancement in these untouched forests during Spanish times. The home they built was no doubt a very crude affair, and its furnishings were simple and plain, even rough; but it was their home, and you know no matter how humble it is, there is no place like home.

At a very early day, probably in the early forties, a camp ground was established on this land on the west side of the creek below the old Bevis house, and Doctor Franklin McKee informs me he remembers a camp meeting held there about 1844 by two Baptist ministers from St. Louis, Messrs. Young and Pope. The old chimney of one of the cabins is still there. Over sixty years ago the Baptists erected a log cabin on the brow of the hill near the old Lynch place. This meeting house was called Liberty, but in time came to be known as Shake Rag. Cotter creek at that time, so Doc. McKee informs me, was called Shake Rag, and no doubt this meeting house acquired its classic name of Shake Rag

from the creek near which it was built, but how the creek got that name I could not learn. The ruins of this old house still remain and may be seen from the depot and other places in Victoria.

In the summer of 1857 the Iron Mountain Railroad was completed to this place, and May 10th, 1859, Henry E. Belt platted the whole tract, except 100 acres of it on the north side, into a town and called it Victoria.

At that time a road ran from De Soto and the upper Joachim by Herman's brick kiln, Mooney's bridge, the old Arch Lee place, then down through the bottom to this Bevis place, and on to Hematite. The road from the Plattin to Hillsboro ran to old Buck Station, about a mile north of Victoria.

James L. Rankin, who was at that time a merchant at Hillsboro, and John H. Morse, a miller on Big River. Rankin wanted the station to remain at Old Buck, and Morse wanted it at Victoria. Quite a strife was engendered, but Morse being willing to spend the most money in making roads won out, and the result was that Victoria was born. The first house built here was by Bazile Hiney in 1857, now occupied by C. Marsden. The following is a history of the postoffice here:

Old Buck Station, Franklin McKee, postmaster, March 2nd, 1858. Changed April 13th, 1858, to Hillsboro Station.

The following are the postmasters with date of appointment: Bazile Hiney, April 13, 1858; John O. Gish, April 22, 1858; Henry D. Evens, April 25, 1861; Alfred Mitchell, June 8, 1861; Changed December 30, 1863, to Victoria Station. Henry P. Bates, December 30, 1863; James F. Cross, March 9, 1865; Alfred Mitchell, September 3, 1864; Jesse Elder, July 15, 1869; James J. Elders, April 9, 1877; Benjamin F. Allen, March 10, 1877; James Allen, May 11, 1880; William N. Clingan, July 21, 1881; Amanda L. Clingan, September 21, 1882; Doctor F. McKee, December 6, 1882. Changed September 30, 1885, to Victoria. Cornelius Marsden, September 30, 1885; Doctor F. McKee, April 10, 1889; Cornelius Marsden, April 18, 1893; Jesse Freeman, April 22, 1897.

Thus I have given you a brief history of this tract of land, and it is appropriate that we should plant a monument to mark the old settlement made here by Thomas L. Bevis and his remarkable wife. The first settlers sleep in the rude cemeteries of the times in which they lived, and we should commemorate their heroism displayed in sowing the seeds of civilization we now enjoy. All honors to the dead heroes of our country. * * * *

JOHN L. THOMAS.

MISSOURI FROM 1849 TO 1861. *

Whoever would write the history of the United States adequately for the dozen years ending with the opening of the war of secession would have to give a large space to the story of Missouri. In this story four figures—Thomas H. Benton, Claiborne F. Jackson, David R. Atchison and Francis P. Blair, Jr.—stand out with special prominence. The war's causes and the chain of events which immediately preceded it cannot be described intelligently without telling the deeds of these men.

On Jaunary 15, 1849, Claiborne F. Jackson, from the Committee on Federal Relations of Missouri's Senate, reported a series of resolutions in that body which denied the power of Congress to legislate so as to "affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia or in the Territories;" asserted that "the right to prohibit slavery in any territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof, and can only be exercised by them in forming their constitution for a State government, or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State;" declared that if Congress should pass any Act in conflict with this principle "Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the Slaveholding States in such measure as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism," and recited that "our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives be requested to act in conformity to the foregoing resolutions."

These resolutions made Claiborne F. Jackson a force in national politics. They split Benton's party in Missouri, sent Benton into retirement except for two years subse-

* Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at its first annual meeting, 1901.

quently in which he was in the House, and put the Calhoun, as distinguished from the Andrew Jackson, section of Democracy in the ascendant in Benton's State. The Calhoun element had gained the supremacy in the party in several of the slave States in the half dozen years immediately preceding the adoption of the Jackson resolutions, and it gained the supremacy in the party in all the slave States before the opening of the Civil War.

Jackson, a Kentuckian by birth, was forty-two years of age at the time he reported his resolutions, twenty-seven of which had been passed in Missouri. He had served several years in the Legislature, was a man of energy, initiative, courage and ability, and was conspicuous in Missouri's history from that time till his death in the second year of the Civil War—first as a leader of the anti-Benton faction of the Democracy in the fights of 1849-56, in which Benton was overthrown, then as one of the chieftains in the raids of 1854-56 across the border into Kansas in the crusade to win that Territory for slavery, and lastly as the governor of Missouri in 1861-62 who endeavored to carry his State into the Confederacy.

Jackson's resolutions (which were introduced in the Legislature by Carty Wells, of Marion county, but which were popularly known by the name of the man who reported them), were opposed by some of Benton's supporters and by many of the Whig members, but they passed the Legislature by large majorities and were signed by Gov. Austin A. King on March 19, 1849. Col. William F. Switzler, then a Whig, and an opponent of the resolutions, who has told, in graphic style, the story of that episode, as well as of all of Missouri annals down to a recent time, is almost the last survivor of that Legislature. The effect of the Jackson resolutions was felt in Missouri politics down to 1861.

What response would Benton make to the demand of his Legislature that he should assist the South in forcing slavery into the Territories? The answer to this query was given an especial importance by the circumstance that

Benton, then serving his fifth term in the Senate, was near the close of that term, and was an aspirant for re-election. His colleague in the Senate was David R. Atchison, a pro-slavery advocate. Benton was born in North Carolina in the year immediately preceding the signing of the final treaty by which George III acknowledged United States' independence, went to Tennessee in early life, commanded a regiment of Tennessee volunteers in the War of 1812, removed to St. Louis in 1815, was chosen one of Missouri's first Senators, beginning his service on the State's admission in 1821, was re-elected four times in succession, and was 67 years of age at the time of the adoption of the Jefferson City slavery extension resolutions of 1849. At that time he had a national fame almost as great as that of Clay, Calhoun or Webster.

Benton was an enthusiastic adherent of Andrew Jackson in the fight against South Carolina nullification in 1832. Like the seventh President, also a resident of a slave State, he was an enemy of slavery and an opponent of its extension into the Territories, though in favor of its protection as a vested right in the States in which it existed. One of the earliest of the advocates of a vigorous assertion of American's claims against England in the Oregon country, he was also, in the interest of territorial expansion, one of the first to propose a railroad across the continent to the Pacific. Like Andrew Jackson, he had the western spirit of nationalism, as opposed to the particularism and state sovereignty represented by his great opponent, Calhoun. Benton loved Missouri, but, also like Jackson, he loved the Union better than he did any State.

What would be Benton's response to the Jefferson City resolutions of 1849? Benton's action on the Calhoun resolutions introduced in the Senate in 1847 furnished the answer. Calhoun's resolutions asserted that the slaveholders had a right, under the Constitution, to take their property into any Territory, regardless of the wishes of Congress or of the Territorial Legislature, to get the same measure of protection for it from the courts that was accorded to all

other sorts of property, and that it could not be interfered with except by the people of the Territory when framing a State Constitution. Benton denounced the resolutions as being calculated to inflame the extremists and as being disunionist in their bearing. Calhoun said he expected the support of Benton as a "representative of a slaveholding State," and declared he would know where to find him in the future. Benton's answer was: **"I shall be found in the right place on the side of my country and the Union."** Benton's own account of the affair adds, impressively: "This answer, given on that day and on that spot, is one of the incidents of his life which Mr. Benton will wish posterity to remember."

Calhoun's resolutions of 1847, which voiced the doctrine asserted by the South afterwards, and which was sanctioned by the Dread Scott decision of 1857, had inspired the Jackson resolutions of 1849. These had, for one of their objects, an assault on Benton. The old warrior responded with characteristic promptness and courage. Benton appealed from the Legislature to the people of Missouri. He denounced the Jackson resolutions as aiming to bring ultimately the disunion which the Calhoun resolutions were designed to bring directly, and he made a canvass of the State which was memorable for the number of men then or subsequently distinguished who participated in it, for the excitement which it caused throughout the State, and for the interest which it aroused in the rest of the country.

A large element of the party, of which he had hitherto been the idol, however, turned against him, and he was beaten. After a contest in the Legislature in 1851, notable for its duration and bitterness, in which each section of the Democracy preferred to see the Whig win rather than that the victory should go to the rival faction, Henry S. Geyer, a Whig, on the fortieth ballot, received 80 votes, as compared with 55 votes which went to Benton, and 18 to the anti-Benton Democrat, Benjamin F. Stringfellow, with 4 scattering votes.

After a service of thirty years in the Senate, which was

never equaled in duration until recent times in the case of Justin S. Morrill and John Sherman, and which was never exceeded by anyone, without any exception, in the courage with which it was characterized and in the value of the work for the cause of nationality and robust Americanism, Benton retired in 1851, at the age of 69. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1852, in which body he opposed Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill, which repealed the Missouri Compromise in 1854, but he was defeated in that year in a canvass for re-election on the issue which the repeal incited, and he was beaten also for Governor in 1856 on the same question. All these contests were memorable for their bitterness, and for the burning denunciation which Benton hurled at his enemies, particularly at those of the opposing faction of his party.

In the presidential canvass of 1856 Benton supported the regular Democratic candidate, Buchanan, whom he personally distrusted, against his own son-in-law, Fremont, the nominee of the newly created Republican party, who stood upon a platform—hostility to slavery extension into the Territories—which had always been a cardinal principle in Benton's creed. He did this because he believed, and probably correctly, that a Republican victory would bring secession and civil war, a peril which he was as anxious to avert as ever Webster or Clay had been, and which he had fought from South Carolina's nullification days in 1832 onward to the Kansas conflict.

Benton's overthrow was one of a series of co-related events covering a wide range. VanBuren's defeat for the nomination in the Baltimore convention in 1844, although earnestly championed by Ex-President Jackson and by Benton, and the nomination of Polk, an ultra State sovereignty man, was followed promptly after Polk's inauguration in 1845 by the deposition, as editor of the Democratic administration organ, of Jackson's and Benton's old friend, the elder Francis P. Blair, a stalwart Unionist, and the accession of Thomas Ritchie, of the Richmond Enquirer, an extreme Calhounist, to that post. The Jefferson City pro-slavery and

pro-southern resolutions of 1849 and their direct consequence, the split in the Democratic party in Missouri and Benton's overthrow, were all links in the same chain. They meant the effacement of the Jacksonian section of the Southern Democracy and the triumph of the Calhoun element. Intelligent observers of politics, in the North as well as in the South, saw this. With Benton's defeat in the canvass for the governorship of Missouri in 1856, the last of the old nationalist chieftains of the Democratic party in the slave States passed off the stage. He died in 1858.

But before his death Benton saw the beginning of the national disturbance which he had predicted, and which he had heroically, though vainly, endeavored to avert. A blaze of excitement swept along Missouri's western border, through the summer and fall of 1854, just after President Pierce had placed his signature to Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act which had thrown open to slavery a region from which slavery has been excluded by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Public meetings were held, arms were purchased, and bodies of men were organized for the purpose of getting control of the newly created Territory of Kansas for slavery. A notably great meeting took place in Platte county on November 6 of that year to urge a division of Kansas and the election of the Territorial delegate to Congress who was to be chosen at a canvass to take place on November 29.

The man who made the principal speech at the Platte county gathering is reported in the friendly columns of the Platte Argus thus: "The people of Kansas in their first election would decide the question whether or not the slaveholder was to be excluded, and it depended upon a majority of the votes cast at the polls. Now, if a set of fanatics and demagogues 1,000 miles off (alluding to the work of Eli Thayer's New England Emigrant Aid Society and similar bodies of free State advocates which were helping settlers to get into Kansas) could advance their money and exert every nerve to abolitionize the Territory and exclude the slaveholder when they have not the least personal interest in the matter, what is your duty? When you reside within

one day's journey of the Territory, and when your peace, your quiet and your property depend on your action, you can, without an exertion, send 500 of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions. Should each county in the State of Missouri only do its duty, the question will be decided peacably at the ballot box. If we are defeated, then Missouri and other southern States will have shown themselves recreant to their interests and will have deserved their fate."

He who thus exhorted his fellow Missourians to action was David R. Atchison. Benton's judgment was vindicated. Long before the death of that old champion of freedom for the Territories through the maintenance of the Missouri Compromise, the evil consequences of the repeal of that barrier began to appear.

Atchison, then 47 years of age and a United States Senator, was a native of Kentucky though a resident of Missouri from his early days, was well educated, eloquent and magnetic, and was a stump speaker of rare power. He served in the Missouri Legislature for several years, was a Judge of the Platte County Circuit Court, and was in the United States Senate from the death of Lewis P. Linn in 1841 to 1855. For part of this time, he was president pro tem of that body. He represented the extreme pro-slavery and anti-Bentonian section of his party. A year before Douglas reported the bill which, in its final form, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and thus threw the territories north of 36 degrees 30 minutes open to slavery. Atchison advocated, in speeches delivered throughout the state, the removal of the Missouri restriction. Ex-Attorney-General Benjamin F. Stringfellow, Col. Samuel Young, Claiborne F. Jackson, James M. Burnes and other prominent Missourians figured in the raids across the border in Kansas Territory's turbulent days, but Atchison was the master spirit of these demonstrations.

In order to make plain the Missourian's interest in the Kansas question and the incentive for Atchison's appeals, certain things will have to be mentioned. Missouri with 682,044 inhabitants in 1850, 87,422 of whom were slaves, had been

doubling its population on the average, in every successive decade, though its slaves were not increasing as rapidly as its free inhabitants. The twenty-third in a union of twenty-four states at the time of the admission in 1821, Missouri had advanced in 1850 to the thirteenth place among thirty-one states, and it was to stand eighth among thirty-three states in 1860. In general industrial development and wealth its expansion was still more rapid than it was in population. The western counties of Missouri in 1854, at the time the Kansas-Nebraska act was passed, had about 50,000 slaves, worth, at the average market value, about $25,000,000. Douglas's act threw Kansas into the arena as a prize to be struggled for by the North and the South. If the North captured Kansas, then Missouri, with alien influences on its western border to re-enforce those already on its eastern flank in Illinois and on its northern boundary in Iowa, would be a promontory of slavery thrust northward into a sea of freedom. With Kansas won for freedom, all these millions of dollars' worth of property would be endangered.

This is why large bodies of men from Missouri, under the lead of Atchison and others, crossed the border and elected, on November 29, 1854, a delegate to represent Kansas Territory in Congress in the slavery interest, and why, by another incursion, they carried the election of March 30, 1855, for members of the Kansas Territorial Legislature. It was also the incentive for the rest of the invasions of 1854-56. All this does not excuse these irregularities, but it furnishes an intelligent explanation of them. Atchison's prominence in the border troubles was recognized by the establishment of a town named for him in the early days of the Kansas settlement.

Of course the Kansas conflict had national consequences. It enraged the North; killed the Whig party; created the Republican party; inflamed the South; incited the Lecompton pro-slavery constitution of 1858 which President Buchanan, backed by the South, tried to force upon Kansas against the will of its people, a large majority of whom by that time wanted a free state; aroused the opposition of Douglas, whose popular sovereignty doctrine was thus assailed; split the Democracy in

the national convention of Charleston in 1860, putting one section of it under Douglas and the other under Breckinridge; rendered the election of Lincoln certain; incited secession; and precipitated the war which abolished slavery.

Benton was dead before the war began, Atchison was not a participant, but two other Missourians had a very conspicuous part in it—Claiborne F. Jackson and the younger Francis P. Blair.

On Friday, January 11, 1861, a meeting was held in Washington Hall, on the corner of Third and Elm streets, St. Louis, which had a decisive influence on the history of Missouri, and which affected the current of United States history. The meeting was called by Republicans, who were far in the minority in Missouri, and most of its participants, who numbered 1200 according to the Missouri Democrat of January 12, belonged to the Republican party. That meeting was historically important because—

(1) It was the first gathering held in Missouri to combat secession.

(2) It disbanded the Wide Awakes, a Republican organization, and started in its place a Central Union Club, in which any man of good character—Breckinridge Democrat, Douglas Democrat, Bell and Everett Constitutionalist or Lincoln Republican—was eligible to membership, and which attracted men from all these parties.

(3) It established branch clubs in each ward of the city of St. Louis and in each township in the rest of St. Louis county.

(4) It led subsequently to the founding of the Committee of Safety, the master spirit of which was Blair, which comprised Oliver D. Filley (Mayor of St. Louis); Francis P. Blair, Jr.; James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, John How and Julius J. Witzig, which defended the cause of the federal government in the city and the state.

(5) It gave shape, courage, direction and unity to the sentiment and influences which baffled the plottings of the state's secession sympathizing officials—Gov. Jackson, Lieut. Gov. Thomas C. Reynolds, United States Senators James S.

Green and Trusten Polk, a majority of the members of the Legislature, with ex-Senator Atchison and other prominent persons in private station—and held Missouri loyal to the union.

Blair, then 40 years of age and a Kentuckian by birth, had figured with some prominence in Missouri politics prior to that Washington Hall gathering. He had served under Doniphan in the Mexican war; was one of Missouri's original free soil Democrats; was a disciple of Benton, and fought in the losing battle while in the Legislature and out of it on that chieftain's side; became a Republican early in that party's career, and was elected to Congress in 1856, 1858 and 1860. But it was the meeting of January 11, 1861, and the cause which incited it, that gave him the opportunity for the display of foresight, energy, resourcefulness and audacity which made him a great national force in the opening days of the civil war.

To make all this intelligible a backward glance of a few weeks will have to be taken. Lincoln's election on November 6, 1860, was followed by South Carolina's secession on December 20, by Mississippi's on January 9, 1861, by Florida's on January 10, and by Alabama's on January 11. the day of Blair's St. Louis meeting, Alabama, at the same time, inviting all the slaveholding states to send delegates to a convention to be held in Montgomery on February 4 to concert action for their defense in that crisis. The seccession of these four states was accompanied by the withdrawal of their representatives from Congress.

Congress met on December 2, 1860, and on the 4th President Buchanan sent his message, in which he contended that the South had no legal right to secede, nor had the Government any constitutional authority to coerce the secessionists. Buchanan subsequently made it plain, however, that he intended to make an effort to re-enforce the forts, to defend the government's property and to collect the revenue in all the states. Major Robert Anderson, the commander of the United States troops in Charleston harbor, knowing that without strong reenforcements he could not maintain his position, abandoned Fort Moultrie and moved his force of seven officers and sixty-

one non-commissioned officers and privates to Fort Sumpter on the night of December 28, upon which South Carolina occupied Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney on December 27 with state troops, and seized the United States arsenal in Charleston, with its 75,000 stand of arms, on December 30. Seizures of forts and other United States property were made immediately afterwards by Georgia, Alabama, Florida and Louisiana. On January 9, 1861, the steamer, Star of the West, sent by Buchanan with 200 troops and a large quantity of supplies to reenforce Major Anderson, was attacked by the batteries manned by South Carolina troops in Charleston harbor and was driven back to sea, and the first shots in the civil war were fired.

This was the national situation at the time of Blair's rally of January 11, 1861. The state situation was also portentous. Missouri's Legislature met on December 31, 1860, and to that body the outgoing Governor, Robert M. Stewart, sent his farewell message on January 8, 1861, in which, though he asserted that the slaveholders had a right to take their property into the territories, he denied the right of secession, and appealed to Missouri to cling to the union. Claiborne F. Jackson, the new Governor, in his inaugural address on the 4th, took the secessionist side, said, in the spirit of his Jefferson City resolution of 1849, that the destiny of all the slave states was the same, and urged Missouri to make a "timely declaration of her determination to stand by her sister slave-holding states, in whose wrongs she participates, and with whose institutions and people she sympathizes."

On the supreme issue of the day there was almost as sharp a transition in Missouri by the change of Governors of the same party on January 4, 1861, as there was in the nation by the change of presidents of different parties on March 4.

Acting on Governor Jackson's recommendations bills were reported to both branches of the legislature (consisting of 15 Breckinridge Democrats, 10 Douglas Democrats, 7 Constitutional Unionists and 1 Republican in the Senate, and 47 Breckinridge Democrats, 37 Constitutional Unionists, 36 Douglas Democrats and 12 Republicans in the House) on January 9 to elect a convention to consider the relations "between the Gov-

ernment of the United States, the people and the governments of the different states and the government and people of the State of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the state and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." This meant secession.

The Legislature's prompt action encouraged the secessionists and correspondingly depressed the Unionist element. Blair at this time, two days before his Washington Hall gathering, knowing the Legislature's partisan complexion and temper, foresaw the overwhelming majority with which it would declare for Jackson's convention. Meanwhile the St. Louis secessionists, at a meeting on January 7, started the organization of Minute Men, which formed part of General Frost's State troops who were captured four months later by Lyon and Blair at Camp Jackson.

A large majority of the people of Missouri, as of all of the rest of the States, believed in those early days of January, 1861, that some sort of a settlement would be reached between the sections and war be averted. There were two men in Missouri, however, who already discerned the approaching crash. These were Governor Claiborne F. Jackson and Francis P. Blair, Jr. Each from this time onward worked with this eventuality constantly in view. Blair's practical work began with the meeting of January 11, 1861.

This was the condition of affairs at the time the Washington Hall gathering of January 11 took place. It was a Republican meeting, but the Republican party, as shown by the poll for president a few weeks earlier (Douglas, 58,801; Bell, 58,373; Breckenridge, 31,917; Lincoln, 17,028), constituted a little over a tenth of the voters of Missouri. It was evident that the Republicans must get aid from other elements, especially from the Douglas and Bell men, or else they would be powerless. In his address to the meeting—the principal address which was delivered—Blair said there were only two parties then in the country, one for the Union and the other for disunion, and that every man who loved his country should strike hands with every other man, no mat-

ter what his past political associations had been, who favored the Union's perpetuation. Some Republicans opposed the dropping of their own organization. "Let us see that we have a country first before talking of parties," was Blair's answer.

At the January 11 meeting the Wide Awakes were disbanded, and steps were taken to temporarily dissolve the Republican organization of Missouri and to form a Union party in its place, open to men of all partisan affiliations who would adopt as their creed Jackson's motto of nullification days, **"The Union, it must and shall be preserved."** From that meeting dates the beginning of the movement, under the direction of the Committee of Safety (Mayor Oliver D. Filley, Francis P. Blair, James O. Broadhead, Samuel T. Glover, John How and Julius J. Witzig), subsequently formed, which held Missouri in line with the North and West and prevented it from joining the South.

The next day, January 12, a meeting of conditional Union men—men, who while opposing secession, also opposed the coercion of seceded States—took place at the east front of the court house on Fourth street, which was many times larger than Blair's gathering, in which 15,000 persons participated, chiefly men who had supported Douglas and Bell in the preceding election, with a sprinkling of Breckenridge men and Republicans. Hamilton R. Gamble, Lewis V. Bogy and others made speeches, and among the vice presidents of the meeting were Col. John O'Fallon, Wayman Crow, James E. Yeatman, John F. Darby, Luther M. Kennett, Nathaniel Pascall, Erasmus Wells, Daniel G. Taylor, James H. Lucas, Isaac H. Sturgeon, John G. Priest and many others prominent in St. Louis business activities and social life.

Blair, Filley, Broadhead and their associates saw that they would have to draw heavily from the conditional Union men in order to defeat Governor Jackson and his fellow secessionists, and they did this ultimately. Many of the conditional Union men were ultimately won over to the unconditional Union side even before Beauregard's guns shot the

flag down on Sumpter, and most of the remainder of them were gained not long afterward.

On Jaunary 18, 1861, a week after Blair's meeting, Missouri's Legislature passed the bill for the holding of the Convention which was to decide whether the State should secede or not. The election was to take place on February 18, and the convention was to meet at Jefferson City on February 28. The question was the most momentous ever presented to the voters of Missouri, and the canvass, though short, was the most exciting which the State ever saw. There were three elements—the out and out Union men, led by Blair, Glover, Broadhead, O. D. Filley, Edward Bates, Benjamin Gratz Brown, William McKee and their colleagues; the conditional Unionists, marshaled by Gamble, Gen. Alexander W. Doniphan, John S. Phelps, Gen. Sterling Price, Nathaniel Paschall and others; and the secessionists, who had Governor Jackson, Senators Green and Polk, Lieutenant Governor Reynolds and their associates for their chiefs—in the fight. The Unionists side was overwhelmingly victorious, gaining a majority of about 80,000 in the aggregate vote on delegates to the Convention. Not a single avowed secessionist was chosen, but some of the delegates secretly favored secession, and a few of them, like Sterling Price, who presided over the convention, went to the confederacy when the actual division came after Lyon and Blair captured Camp Jackson.

A wave of rejoicing swept over the North at the news from Missouri of February 18. New heart was put into the Union men of East Tennessee. The loyal sons of Virginia's mountain counties were encouraged to stand out against secession, to separate from their State when it joined the confederacy, and to form themselves into the commonwealth of West Virginia, and a powerful factor was contributed to the sum of influence which held Maryland and Kentucky in the Union.

But the St. Louis Committee of Safety saw that bullets might have to reinforce ballots before Missouri could be saved. Immediately after the meeting of January 11 Blair began secretly to organize and drill the Home Guards, just

as the secessionist Minute Men under Duke, Green, Shaler, Hubbard and others began to do the same thing, but the Minute Men, having the State authorities on their side, did this openly. Blair's great antagonist, Governor Jackson, at the same time endeavored to push a bill through the Legislature to arm the militia of Missouri, ostensibly in defense of the State against encroachments from either South or North, but really in favor of the South. The Unionist victory in the election of February 18 frightened the secessionist Legislature, and defeated the measure.

Blair was more successful. He organized the Home Guards, the nucleus of which were the Wide Awakes, who were chiefly composed of Germans. The aid which the Germans of St. Louis and vicinity gave to the Union cause in that crisis cannot be too highly praised. This sturdy and patriotic element of adopted Americans, which contributed Sigel, Osterhaus, Kallman, Stifel, Schaeffer, Schuttner, Boernstein and many other gallant officers to the Union armies, furnished the majority of the troops which Missouri gave to the government at the outset of the Civil War.

But in the beginning there were no guns with which to arm the Home Guards except what were got from private sources and a few from Gov. Yates of Illinois. In the United States arsenal at St. Louis there were 60,000 stand of arms, together with cannon, powder and other munitions of war. Both Blair and Jackson realized that the side which got possession of the arsenal would control St. Louis, and the side that controlled St. Louis would command Missouri.

Isaac H. Sturgeon, United States Assistant Treasurer at St. Louis, fearing for the safety of the $400,000 of Federal money in his hands and for the arsenal, wrote to President Buchanan on January 5, 1861, asking him to send troops to protect the government property. Buchanan sent Lieutenant Robinson and forty men. Other detachments came later, and Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with his company, arrived at the arsenal from Fort Riley on February 6. Two days earlier than this the confederate government, represented by seven States, was established at Montgomery, Alabama, and four more States were to join it ultimately.

arsenal by a part of Lyon's troops, and the shipment to Illinois of all the arms not immediately needed defeated this purpose. The militia camped for a week, beginning on May 6, in Lindell's Grove, near the intersection of Olive street and Grand avenue, St. Louis, the camp being called Camp Jackson, in honor of the Governor. It was commanded by Gen. Daniel M. Frost, a native of New York, a West Point graduate, who made a good record in the Mexican War, but who resigned soon afterward and entered business in St. Louis.

Blair and Lyon determined to capture Jackson's militia. Gen. Harney, the commander of the military district, who was temporarily absent, would, they feared, prevent this move if he were present. The camp would end on Saturday, the 11th, and the militia would disperse, taking their arms with them. The Unionist chieftains struck with their customary courage and promptness. They quickly surrounded the camp on Friday, May 10, by a large force, compelled Frost to surrender immediately and unconditionally without the firing of a shot, disarmed his men and paroled them not to bear arms against the United States until regularly exchanged. This bold stroke, attended, after the surrender, by a lamentable collision between the crowd on the streets and Lyon's soldiers, in which twenty-eight lives were lost, set Missouri ablaze, compelled all its citizens to take sides, and started the war west of the Mississippi.

Camp Jackson's capture on May 10, 1861—three days before the Union troops occupied Baltimore and two weeks before they marched from Washington into Virginia—had momentous consequences. The first aggressive blow dealt to the confederacy anywhere, it held Missouri resolutely on the side of the government, turned the scale against secession in Kentucky, forced the confederate sphere of influence in the West down near the Arkansas and Cumberland, defeated the purpose of the secessionists to cut off communication between the East and the Pacific States by the overland route, and was a powerful factor in making this nation, in Chief Justice Chase's phrase, an "indestructible Union of indestructible States."

CHARLES M. HARVEY.

A HISTORY OF WESTMINSTER COLLEGE. *

The Rev. W. W. Robertson, D. D., was the original moving spirit in the conception of a Presbyterian College in Missouri, and in its final location in Fulton. The first step taken in this direction was the establishment at Fulton in about the year 1851 of an institution of learning for young men known as Fulton College. (1) This institution had a flattering beginning—having at its first session over fifty young men. Prof. William Van Doren, of New Jersey, was placed at the head of this school, and so remained until it was supplanted, or absorbed, by Westminster College. The assistant professors of Fulton College were Dr. E. T. Scott and Prof. Thomas L. Tureman. In September, 1852, the

* Paper by Judge John A. Hockaday (deceased) published in "The Westminster Monthly," June, 1902.

1. An act was passed by the 16th General Assembly and approved Feb. 8, 1851, reciting that the Old School division of the Presbyterian Church in Callaway County was desirous of building up a college, and Harvey J. Bailey, Alfred George, Alfred A. Ryley, Samuel R. Dyer, Solomon Jenkins, Israel B. Grant, David McKee, Isaac Tate, George Nicholson, Irvine O. Hockaday, Robert Calhoun, Thomas West, Martin Baker, Samuel Ryley, David Coulter, Joseph M. Duncan, Thomas B. Nesbit and Nathan H. Hall were incorporated as trustees of an institution called Fulton College. The college was to be located within a half mile of the town of Fulton and the Synod of Missouri in connection with the Presbyterian Church in the United States might at any future time adopt the College.

The 17th General Assembly passed an act approved February 23, 1853, to amend an act apparently the above, but giving its date as 1853 instead of 1851, and to charter Westminster College under the Synod of Missouri, Presbyterian Church in the United States (Old School), and named the following trustees: Alfred A. Kebey, William W. Robertson, David Coulter, Preston B. Reed, James Whiteside, Adison V. Schenck, Edward M. Samuel, John G. Miller, Hamilton Smith, William Provines, Samuel S. Watson, William P. Cochran, John F. Cowan, Hamilton R. Gamble, Samuel J. P. Anderson, Joseph Charless, John G. Fackler, and Robert S. Symington.

An act passed February 23, 1857, relating to "the College now located at Fulton" gives the names of the trustees as Preston B. Reed, Hamilton R. Gamble, William Provines, Edward M. Samuel, John G. Miller, James Young, S. S. Watson, Milton P. Cayce and Joseph Stenett.—Editor.

present Philologic society was organized under the auspices of this institution.

At the meeting of Synod in the year 1851 the establishment of a Presbyterian College in the State took definite shape, and that body instituted immediate measures to promote the enterprise. The plan adopted to secure an early location of the institution was by letting it out to competitive bidding to such eligible towns in the State as might want to contend for it. Four places at once entered into the contest, viz: St. Charles, Fulton, Boonville and Richmond. The competition soon became sharp, if not a little acrimonious. The Synod to locate the institution and christen it, met at Fulton in the fall of 1852. Two days were consumed in the presentation of the claims of the respective competing points. Fulton was principally represented on the floor of the Synod by the Hon. Preston C. Reed, an eminent lawyer of Fulton, who made a strong plea for Fulton in a speech of four hours. Hon. John G. Miller, then a member of Congress from Missouri, presented the claims of Boonville in an able and pleasing speech, and S. S. Watson espoused the claims of St. Charles, and Hon. E. M. Samuel those of Richmond. By a decided vote, Fulton secured the prize and the institution was then and there christened "Westminster College." Articles of incorporation immediately followed its location, and the erection of the present old building followed in the succeeding summer. The corner stone was laid on the Fourth of July, 1853, and the address of the occasion delivered by Dr. N. L. Rice, then a resident of St. Louis.

In 1854 the building was completed and opened. For a year or more preceding the completion of the present building the old building used in connection with Fulton College was secured and used for college purposes. Immediately upon the occupancy of the new edifice, Dr. S. S. Laws, a man of great scholarly attainments, was elected Westminster's first president. The remainder of the first faculty was composed of the following gentlemen: Prof. William Van Doren, Profs. Thomas D. and William Baird

of Baltimore, and Dr. M. M. Fisher of Illinois. Besides these, there were, during Dr. Laws' incumbency, the following other gentlemen who filled professorships in the college: Dr. F. T. Kemper, Prof. J. S. Hughes and Prof. A. M. Mayer.

Under the administration of Dr. Laws, a handsome endowment of about one hundred thousand dollars was soon secured and the number of students brought up to an average of one hundred—reaching finally near one hundred and fifty. In 1854 the Philalethian literary society was organized. Westminster's first commencement was held in 1855 and Rev. James G. Smith was its first graduate, and the only graduate for that year.

Under the able and excellent administration of Dr. Laws, Westminster steadily progressed in strength and popularity, strongly rivaling the State University and for a larger part of the time, outnumbering it in students, with an equal number of professors and a higher curriculum necessary for graduation. Up to the beginning of the Civil War, Westminster had moved steadily onward and had assumed a commanding position among the educational institutions of the country far beyond the highest expectations of its most ardent friends. In the early part of this unhappy struggle Dr. Laws was forced to give up the presidency and leave the State on account of his political opinions and the College forced to suspend for a brief period.

About the second year of the war, the institution was reorganized in its faculty and again opened its doors for students, and ran steadily on and throughout and to the close of the struggle. During the war period of its history, it had no regular president, but was presided over a short time by Prof. J. P. Finley, with whom was associated Dr. John N. Lyle, Prof. John H. Scott and Dr. M. M. Fisher. A short time before the close of the war Prof. Finley resigned and Dr. M. M. Fisher became the presiding head of the College as chairman of the faculty. He was, after a few years' service, succeeded by Dr. John Montgomery, of Kentucky, who was elected as the second president of the College. He was a man of great power in the pulpit and of substantial

scholarly attainments. During his administration the number of students increased rapidly, and the College was restored in a measure to its prosperity preceding the war. During the war the College lost a part of its endowment and active work became necessary to re-endow it. Dr. Montgomery proceeded to restore these losses, and supplemented by the aid and energy of Dr. Robertson, then the president of the Board of Trustees, and succeeding presidents, a new endowment of about $80,000 was obtained in a few years, the greater part of which composes its present endowment fund.

Dr. Montgomery resigned as president of the College in about the year 1866 to again enter the active ministry, and Dr. Fisher again took charge of the College as chairman of the faculty.

The institution was thus without a president until about the year 1868 when Dr. Nathan L. Rice, then of New York City, was unanimously elected as its third president. The scholarship and great ability of Dr. Rice is known and acknowledged the world over. It is therefore needless to say that Westminster under his leadership took a new lease on life and went steadily to the front. The number of students under him exceeded that of any preceding time in the history of the College.

Dr. Rice severed his connection with it to take a position in the Theological Seminary at Danville, Kentucky, in about the year 1874, and the College fell back in charge of Dr. M. M. Fisher, who presided over it as chairman of the faculty until about 1879, when he resigned to take a professorship at the State University. It is due to the memory of Dr. Fisher to say that he was one of the most steadfast friends the College ever had. A strong, able and good man, he stood by it in the darkest days at a meager salary, and for his devotion its friends will forever owe him a debt of gratitude. Dr. C. C. Hersman was next chosen to preside over the faculty and College, which he did with great success and acceptance until 1881 when, against his protest, he was elected as its fourth president. Dr. Hersman was a man

of profound scholarship and great learning, and gave the College a strong, safe and progressive administration, keeping it well up to the most successful periods in its history preceding him. He resigned in 1886 to accept the presidency of an institution in Tennessee. Dr. William H. Marquess, one of Westminster's brightest alumni, and a prodigy as a student, succeeded Dr. Hersman as the fifth president of his alma mater. Great success attended Dr. Marquess' administration of the College, and during his incumbency, the famous Sausser bequest of $125,000 was added to the College endowment.

Dr. Marquess resigned in 1891 to take a position in the Seminary at Louisville, much to the regret of all friends of Westminster. After a short interregnum, Dr. E. C. Gordon, formerly of the State of Virginia, was called to the presidency of the College, making its sixth president.

Dr. Gordon was a man of acknowledged power and learning, and while the number of students was not so large under his administration as under some of his predecessors, yet the advancement of students, and the high order of scholarship of those under his training gave great strength and individuality to his administration. Besides, he took charge of the College in the midst of one of the greatest financial panics the country ever experienced, which put its blight on institutions of learning as upon every other business enterprise or industry. Dr. Gordon having resigned in 1892, Dr. John J. Rice, as vice president, took charge and successfully conducted the affairs of the College until he was relieved by the election of a president.

Dr. John Henry McCracken, of New York, is Westminster's seventh president. He entered upon the duties of his office in 1899. His marvelous success in administering the affairs of the College during his short incumbency is a matter of common knowledge with all its friends. He has not only added largely to its revenues and buildings, but has kept the number of students cleverly up to the average and the institution free from debt. But his greatest achievement, and one which makes an epoch in the history of the College,

was the union of our brethren north and south in its patronage and support.

This is one of the brightest spots in its history, and one that must stand pre-eminently among its greatest blessings and achievements.

In conclusion it may be of interest to the friends of the College to know some of the many distinguished men of our country who have delivered addresses on its commencement occasions in the long period of fifty years in its history. Such of these are given as can be recalled by the writer: Rev. E. Thompson Baird, of Baltimore, Dr. S. J. P. Anderson, Dr. James H. Brooks, Dr. Robert G. Brank, Hon. Edward Bates, of St. Louis, Dr. Moses Hogue, of Virginia, Dr. Plummer, of Pennsylvania, Dr. B. M. Palmer, of Louisiana, Dr. Craig, Dr. Halsey, of Chicago, Dr. H. B. Bender, of Missouri, Hon. Henry Clay Dean, Hon. William H. Wallace, Hon. John F. Philips, Hon. J. H. Young, Hon. H. S. Priest, Hon. William J. Stone, Dr. Gevens B. Stuckler, Dr. Frank W. Sneed, Dr. W. J. McKitrick, Dr. Hemphill, Dr. J. H. Vance, Dr. B. T. Lacey, Dr. E. F. Berkley, Hon. Charles P. Johnson, Hon. W. H. Russell.

The writer does not profess to be thoroughly accurate as to dates in this hasty synopsis of Westminster's history, but the events detailed are substantially correct throughout.

JOHN A. HOCKADAY.

ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AT WESTPORT.*

In the early settling of Jackson county, say in 1837 to 1840, there were but few church houses. Indeed, I might say not one for the Christian church, who at that time were called reformers and by other churches, Campbellites. They were not held in high esteem by other denominations; Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, all agreed that these people called reformers predicated the plan of salvation solely upon water baptism; hence every reasonable effort was put forth to prevent the growth and progress of this church, but the light of the gospel still brightened in the county, and the Christian church, by reason of religious opposition waxed stronger in the faith and grew in the service of the Lord. Opposition seemed to invigorate their efforts, until by their Christian deportment they became an important Christian factor among the churches of Jackson county.

I rejoice to know that all of the denominations of today have divested themselves of this uncharitable intolerance, and are ready to take our hand and join in the labor of the salvation of souls. All are laboring, not to put each other down, but to save sinners and Christianize the world.

At the date of which I speak, 1837 to 1840, a few members of the Reform Church had settled in this county. A few were scattered in every neighborhood in Jackson county; they would hold meetings at private houses, singing, praying and exhorting, endeavoring to keep up a sort of church organization. It may be of interest to some present to give the names of the most prominent members and their locality in the county. In the northeast part of the county in the vicinity of

* Paper read by Captain Stephen C. Ragan, before the congregation of Hyde Park Christian Church of Westport, Mo., Sunday afternoon, November 25, 1906, at the celebration of the 69th anniversary of the founding of the Westport Christian Church, now known as Hyde Park Christian Church.

Sibley, Levasy, Buckner and Grainvalley, lived the families of Col. James and William Cogswell. Parents and children were well educated and quite wealthy, all members of the Christian church. They with other prominent citizens there kept their religious light burning. About Blue Springs lived Judge Luther Mason and other members of the Christian church, who labored to propagate the gospel. Near Lone Jack lived Col. Geo. W. and John W. Late and Jack Bynum, all active workers in the vineyard of the Lord. In the southwest part of the county were the families of J. R. Whitsett at Hart Grove, who for years had no one to aid him in religious work, but in the course of time Ed Nolan, Esq., Isaac Bryant, Ben Robinson, E. A. Hickman, et al., organized a church at Rickman Mills in the year 1857 or 1858. This church has flourished to the present time. It is surrounded by a very intelligent community. Its officers have always been filled by active, intelligent men, who added much to the growth and prosperity of the congregation. Independence being the county seat and the most popular town in the county, was settled by an enterprising community, mostly Kentuckians. A large part of its inhabitants were members of the Christian church, among whom were Oliver Caldwell, James and Robert Smart, Tom Hughes, Joe Glover, Judge Sheeley and a very large family of the Bryants, Oldhams and many others. They organized a church in the early days.

But I have digressed from my subject: The Origin of the Christian Church at Westport. In order to get at the nucleus of this church organization, it will be necessary to speak of the small groups of the Christian church, who with united effort organized the first Christian church at Westport. The members resided in what was called Kaw township, notably, the Steeles, Talleys and Lockridges, living just east and southeast of Kansas City, Simmons family located on the Blue river, James Davenport, (not of the family of Stephen Davenport), Duke W. Simpson, Thomas Phelps, Beverly Monday, Jacob Ragan, etc. These members would meet at private houses and have services in inclement weather and in groves or forests in summer. Under these stately trees the gospel

was preached in its simple purity, songs of praise sung which echoed through the forests until the surrounding woods were vocal with music and prayers of these earnest, devoted people.

Sometime in 1839 or 1840, Jacob Ragan built and donated to the Christian church a large log building, located about a half quarter from the Janssen Place in Kanwood Addition, three-fourths of a mile from this place on the southeast corner of my father's old farm (now known as 3644 Holmes street). This building was sufficient to accommodate all the members of the church, with room to spare for outsiders. A church was organized, and Elder Frank Palmer's (of Independence, Mo.) services secured, (he had been preaching at the private houses and groves prior to this) and all went smoothly on, the church gaining in members and respectability. The congregation met only once a month, the second Lord's day. They met in this house for many years. As men prospered however, their pride was augmented and the members began to look around for more elegant quarters in which to worship. Westport seemed to be the choice of its members, so in 1846 or '47, the Christian church made a deal with the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists to erect a Union church, the same from which this congregation so recently removed, the old brick church (located at the northeast corner of Westport avenue and Central street) around which so many pleasant memories cluster, the church that such men as Moses E. Lard, Allen Wright, Alexander Campbell, Raccoon John Smith and other noted men honored with their presence, and held the audience enthused and edified by their profound thoughts and distinguished oratory. This church was called at this time the First Christian church, (not of Westport, because there was no other Christian church here) but the First Christian church of Jackson county, and it is today entitled to that rank, (with all due respect to the church at Eleventh and Locust). Rev. Frank Palmer preached every month on the second Lord's day. This congregation took rank as one of the best churches in the West. Members took active part in church work, so their harmonious labors soon elicited the esteem and admiration of other churches.

This congregation continued to flourish until the Civil War, which paralyzed all religious organizations in this county. The death of Elder Duke W. Simpson, sometime about 1854 or 1855, was a great shock to the congregation. He was one of the leading members, had a big purse, a big soul, was always willing to give pecuniary aid to, not only the church, but all indigent persons worthy of it. He was polite, affable, always in a good humor, meeting you with a smile, if you were sad he would soon make you glad, in short, a model Christian. No wonder the church missed him. I have heard old members say that the church never fully recovered from the shock caused by his death.

I have said this much about Duke W. Simpson, and his memory deserves four times as much. The officers of the church from its organization, as well as I can remember, were D. W. Simpson and Jacob Ragan, as elders, who held these positions continuously until Simpson's death. James B. Davenport joined the church sometime in '46 or '47 and became a very prominent member, and served as deacon and elder until he moved to Cook county, Texas, in 1857 or 1858.

This church elicited the services of many distinguished ministers: Dr. Henry Haley, Moses E. Laird, Allen Wright, Raccoon John Smith, Samuel McCormick, of Kentucky; Elgin Swift and William Parker, from Pleasant Hill. All visited and preached for this congregation. Allen Wright was by far the most popular with other churches. He was so smooth in his discourses that he never gave offense, but often captured members of other churches who declared that he was not a Campbellite. If Laird came around and preached from the same text and gave the same reasoning, it was handed out "with the bark on" and did not have as good effect as the sermons of Allen Wright, who, of all the preachers that visited the Westport Church, made more conversions than any other minister. He was a large, handsome man; he took his text, and as he progressed, warmed up, tears coursing down his cheeks, his appeals to sinners seemed irresistible; hence, his universal success. He was regarded as one of the strongest ministers in Missouri.

Raccoon John Smith, of Kentucky, once visited the Church at Westport. As he was a noted and very eccentric character, a large audience turned out that day. Brother Smith, casting his keen eyes over the congregation saw an elderly lady very plainly dressed standing up, as there was no vacant seat. At last Brother Smith saw three young ladies occupying one bench. He saw that they had on very large hoops. He looked toward them with a scowl on his face and said, "Young ladies, compress those hoops so as to give room for this old Sister of Zion." The girls compressed their hoops as did every lady in the house who wore them. Hoops were fashionable, and all ladies of fashion wore them. Before this incident occurred the house seemed to be full to overflowing. After the hoops were compressed there was room for as many more. I am not sure, but I think hoops went out of fashion about this time, especially about Westport.

Rev. Frank Palmer, who had preached to these people in forests of this county before this house was built, still continued to be the minister up to 1860, and afterwards, '68, '73 and '74. He had moved to Clay county during the war. Rev. Frank Palmer in many respects was a wonderful man. He said but little to anyone, seemed to be cold hearted, but such was not the case. His mind was occupied on some subject that required deep thought, and when in this mood he would forget his surroundings. When he preached, he had one way of speaking. He would take his text and never loose sight of it until he had brought out all the points it contained, and then with a warm exhortation, invite sinners to come to Christ. His favorite invitation hymn was, "Come humble sinners in whose breast, etc.," and if he saw any encouragement would sing another hymn. If he did not take his text from the 2nd Chapter of Acts, he was almost sure to refer to it before closing his discourse. He very often sang a solo before dismissing the congregation with the words, "Time is winging us away as fast as time can move. Time is but a wintry day, a journeying to the tomb." When he dismissed the audience he used but little ceremony

but made preparations to return to his home or go with some brother to dinner. Very few who follow him will do the work he has done in Jackson County, for it will be remembered that he gave his whole time to the ministry, preaching at other points in the county when not at Westport.

I have followed the Christian Church from the woods to the old log cabin and to the old brick church at Westport. If I could this day give you a panoramic view of these old Christians, and if possible a view of their motives, you would be better prepared to appreciate the efforts of these people, who through privation and arduous struggles for existence, meeting in cold houses, overcame every difficulty with laudable courage. The old Christians are gone, the old songs they sang are forgotten and music more operatic substituted. The old time hymns, as sung in the churches of long ago are relegated to the rear, to be brought out when all men must appear before the judgment bar of God, to be judged according to the deeds done in the body whether they be good or bad. "When the Roll is Called Up Yonder," I think the old members of the Westport Church will answer present.

Some time after the Civil War, about 1867 or 1868, a few of the old members and some members who had never belonged to the Westport Church, organized into a church capacity with Jacob Ragan and John Harris as officers of this Church, but this organization was of short duration. The war had left some discord in this part of Missouri, and perhaps this feeling entered into this church and it went to pieces. At this time, say 1872 or 1873, some of the original members were well stricken in years, and physically unable to attend church. Some of these members were Jacob and Annie Ragan, John Harris who dropped out.

About the date 1872 or '73, Dr. Henry Palmer settled in Westport, and by a vigorous effort revived the interest of the Church and organized anew. Some of the old members came back, and there were some twenty-five or twenty-eigth who attended regularly. Uncle Frank Palmer, from Liberty, visited and preached for them occasionally, but the main pastor

was Brother Morton, from Clay county. William Caldwell, from Johnson County attended this Church occasionally. This congregation flourished until some time in 1886, but many of the members died and some moved off. Mike McCarty, a very active member, also Greenberry Ragan, died in 1886, Dr. Palmer moved off, and as they were the active and leading members, the religious light in the old Church was extinct and remained so until about the winter of 1887, when a Brother Page, from Illinois, proposed to drive the bats and swine from the church building and repair it, and organize a congregation. He approached me with tears in his eyes and said he was soliciting a contribution. For this purpose I gave $125, Benjamin Estell a like amount, James White and other members contributed liberally, so that Brother Page had ample means with which to make the repairs. He superintended the work himself and soon had the house in good shape for occupancy, and immediately organized a Church with James White, Benjamin Estell and myself as Elders. Brother Page gave good service and had a very respectable congregation. He labored faithfully with this congregation for a year or more and then moved west. In 1888 Brother Clay, who succeeded him, was a successful minister, but remained a little more than a year, when he was succeeded by Brother L. Z. Burr, in 1891, who remained about eighteen months, or until 1892. Then Brother Dunning took charge of the Church, but remained only a short time. During the years from 1893 to 1900, various ministers occupied the old Church, the names of whom are as well known by the congregation as they are by myself.

The last Pastor of the old Church, Roger H. Fife, perhaps deserves more credit than anyone who preceded him, for it was by his persistence and untiring energy that this building was erected. I do not mean financially with money, but by his supervision and physical labor, these walls were erected and the finishing touches applied, so that the members here have a magnificent structure in which to worship, with a large and respectable membership. You are the outcome or fruit of seed sown by the old pioneers who have

passed on remembered by a very few who were boys, when they were struggling and trying to promulgate the Gospel in the early 40's.

The members of the old church of this county, I mean of the Christian Church, were almost without exception Kentuckians. They moved here just after B. W. Stone and Thos. and Alexander Campbell had made an evangelistic tour through Kentucky.

My story is at an end, but I wish to say that, the names of many pious and active members have been omitted in this sketch, not for want of respect, but of space.

Verily it has come to pass, even as our Lord said, "Others have labored, and ye have entered into their labors."

STEPHEN C. RAGAN.

NAMES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS KNOWN TO BE BURIED IN MISSOURI.

David Bedell, buried by the side of Elisha Headlee, his brother-in-law. Headlee and Bedell served in the same company of Pennsylvania dragoons and married sisters. They came from North Carolina to Missouri in 1834 and selected the place for Salem cemetery, requesting that they be buried side by side. They were strict Methodists. Information as to Headlee and Bedell from M. O. Bedell, Springfield, Mo., grandson of David Bedell.

Samuel Boles (Bowles?) buried in Callaway County, on the old Boles farm, four miles south of Fulton. Died about 1840. Thomas Terry, La Monte, and J. W. Boles, Auxvasse, informants.

Thomas Boyd, served under General McNair, born in North Carolina, buried in the old J. P. Home cemetery upon the farm now owned by Robert T. Nichols, near the village of Carrington. Information from John K. Boyd, Sr., of Centralia, Mo., who remembers hearing his grandfather relate his Revolutionary experiences.

Samuel Burks, buried in the Matthews graveyard, St. Francois township, Madison County. Information from B. G. Burks, grandson, Des Arc, Mo.

Christopher Casey, buried in Jefferson City. Information from F. W. Roer, County Clerk. Also information from W. W. Goodall, of Jefferson City, reciting that Christopher Casey is buried in the Gordon lot in the cemetery at that place, and that a stone marks his grave.

John Chambers, buried in Kennedy graveyard about 1 mile southwest of Wright City. Information from J. B. Allen, great-grandson, Troy, Lincoln County. Also from Pierre B. Kennedy, St. Louis.

Col. Benjamin Cooper, for whom Cooper County was

named, was buried on the bluff, one mile southeast of Cooper's old fort in Howard County. Information from great-granddaughter, Miss Harriet Mayfield, 1814 Washington Avenue, St. Louis.

Abel Dodd, buried at Millersburg; descendant, John T. Miller, Mexico, Mo. Information from W. P. Robinson, Fulton, Mo.

Charles Finnell, of Chariton County, is buried in Randolph county, about one and one-half miles south of Clifton Hill. Information from Mrs. A. H. Conrad, Shannondale, Mo.

William Goodson, ensign in the Revolution, was buried in a churchyard, 4 miles northwest of Carrollton. Information from J. T. Goodson and Alvin Goodson, Carrolton.

George Hardin, buried at Berry farm, near Fulton; descendants, George Hardin, Fulton, Mrs. W. T. Herring, Shamrock, Mo. Information from W. P. Robinson, Deputy County Clerk, Fulton, Callaway county.

John Hawkins, buried at Potosi. Information from Thomas Dudley Castleman, Potosi, Mo.

Elisha Headlee, Salem cemetery, 10 miles north of Springfield. For information, see "Bedell."

Abram Hill, died in Ray County, but cannot locate his grave. Information from Probate Judge, Ray County.

Robert Jamison, buried west of New London in a private cemetery on the place now owned by one Emmison. From David Wallace.

Thomas Kennedy, buried in the Kennedy graveyard, near Wright City, the same cemetery in which John Chambers is buried. He was a resident of Pendleton District, South Carolina, and served in Fifth (or Seventh) Virginia regiment, which regiment was almost annihilated at battle of Briar Creek. Kennedy then joined Humphrey Barnett's rangers for the rest of the war. He married Sarah Gibson, of Pendleton District, S. C., daughter of Gayan Gibson, a soldier of the Revolution. Kennedy removed to Missouri in 1808 or '09, and settled in what is now Warren County, near Wright City. Information from grandson, Pierre B. Kennedy, St. Louis.

Robert Kirkpatrick, died in 1841 and was buried in the New Lebanon cemetery, Cooper County. Information from W. L. Cordry, Bunceton, Mo.

—— Leake, who lived in Salt River township, is thought to be buried in the Church cemetery at St. Paul's Church, Center township. Information from Mr. Wallace.

Robert Lemon, buried on his home place in Boone County, 2 1-2 miles northwest of Columbia. Information from granddaughter, Miss Fannie Lemon, Columbia.

John Majors, a soldier of the Revolution, born April 22, 1759, died December 27, 1844, is buried in the family cemetery on the farm of Rufus Majors, in the northeast corner of Clay County. Information from R. M. Majors, Kearney, Mo.

Henry Overly, died near Shamrock, Callaway County, and was buried on his home place about 4 miles from Shamrock. His grave has since been plowed over. It is located on the southwest quarter of the southwest quarter of section 12, township 49, range 7 west. Information from J. S. Lail, Shamrock.

James Parks, buried at New Hope Baptist Church, forks of Chariton, Chariton County. Finnell and Parks related to Mrs. A. K. Leonard, Shannondale, Mo., from whom information comes. Correspondence with E. Dred Finnell, Salisbury, Mo.

John Paul buried at Potosi. Information from Thomas Dudley Castleman, Potosi, Mo.

George Readding, buried at St. Francoisville, Clark County, about 12 miles from Keokuk, Iowa. The inscription on his gravestone reads: "George Readding, a Revolutionary soldier, and an elder in the Presbyterian Church near fifty years. Died Aug. 4, 1846, in the eighty-fifth (85) year of his age." Information from Mrs. Ruth Colins Canby, Historian, Keokuk Chapter, Keokuk, Iowa.

Edward Robertson, buried in the old graveyard of the Robertson family near Clark's Fork. Robert McCulloch, of Clark's Fork, writes that he has recently visited this grave and found an old marble stone, nearly covered with dirt,

which bears this inscription: "Edward Robertson died April 21, 1848, aged 94 years, 11 months, and 11 days." A communication from the Bureau of Pensions at Washington gives the following data concerning Edward Robertson:

He enlisted July 20, 1776, in Maryland, and served three years as a private soldier under Colonel Housaker, Captain Heizer. Battles engaged in were Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Applied for pension from Howard County, Mo., Nov. 14, 1818. Age at that time 65 years. His claim was allowed.

Robert S. Russell, buried at Freeman farm, near Millersburg, Callaway County. Descendant, T. A. Russell, Fulton. Information from W. P. Robinson, Fulton, Mo.

James Sewell, removed to Clay County to Clinton County in 1840, and a few years later died at the home of a married daughter named Pogue or Poage. His grave is supposed to be in the Poage burying ground ten miles northwest of Plattsburg, County seat of Clinton County. From County Clerk of Clay County.

Richard Sims, died in 1852, buried in the old Sims graveyard about 8 miles north of Liberty, Mo. Information from great-great-granddaughter, Louise C. Stogdale, Liberty, Mo.

Rodem Sims, buried on the old Crawford farm in the family lot on the place in an unmarked grave. From Hon. David Wallace, member of Legislature from Ralls County, New London.

Samuel Steele, buried at Mount Comfort cemetery, 8 miles north of Springfield. Information from M. O. Bedell, Springfield, Mo.

Benjamin Taylor was buried in Stoddard County, but the grave has not yet been located with exactness. Information from J. N. Punch, County Clerk.

Edward Thomas, buried at the Thomas Stone house, Bellview, Iron County. Information from Thomas Dudley Castleman, Potosi, Mo.

James Wells resided with son-in-law, James Clevenger, in 1840, died Aug. 17, 1855, aged 92, and was buried in New Garden cemetery, Ray County. Information from Probate Judge, Ray County.

John Woolfolk was born September 9, 1762, in Virginia, and died in Boone County, October 11, 1843. Buried near Deer Park, a small town 8 miles south of Columbia. A limestone slab marks his grave. Information from Col. William F. Switzler, Columbia, Mo.

The pension records of 1840 show that Uriah Brock, then aged 79, was living in Scott County, town or township of Moreland, with Hartwell Brock. The Pension Commissioner informs me that he served six years in the Revolution as a private, under Captain Camp Carter, Colonel Charles Harrison; enlisted from Virginia. He was in the battles of Monmouth, Guilford Court House, Eutaw Springs and Camden. Applied for a pension June 18, 1819, then aged 56 years, from Cape Girardeau County. His claim was allowed.

I have a memorandum of three Pennsylvanians who removed to Missouri after the Revolution:

William Nicholson, resided in St. Francois County in 1833, aged 79. He served in the First, Fourth and Seventh Pennsylvania Regiments, Continental Line. See Pennsylvania Archives, second series, Vol. X.

George Miller, 2. In Franklin County, June 15, 1834. Served in Second Pennsylvania Regiment. See same Volume.

Thomas Wyatt, Ensign, resided in St. Louis, Mo., in 1834, aged 80. Served in Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. See same Volume. Pension Commissioner writes that Thomas Wyatt served 4 years as Ensign under Captain Van Swearingen, Colonels Wilson and McCoy. Enlisted from Pennsylvania. Was in battle of Brandywine. Applied for pension April 6, 1819, from St. Louis County, then aged 65 years. His claim was allowed.

MARY LOUISE DALTON.

State Historian for Missouri's Daughters of the American Revolution.

Wentzville, Mo., January, 1903.

It was suggestd to the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution not long ago that the government of the United States would furnish simple headstones, similar

to those now used in national soldiers' cemeteries, for the graves of Revolutionary soldiers. The Daughters of the American Revolution resolved to begin a search for these graves.

In July last the state regent of D. A. R. for Missouri, Mrs. George H. Shields, 4426 Westminster Place, St. Louis, obtained a list of more than 100 names of Revolutionary soldiers who were living in Missouri in 1840. This list was taken from the pension records, and gave the names of Revolutionary soldiers who were drawing pensions at that date. It was supposed that men of the ages mentioned would have died and been buried in Missouri.

The state regent sent this list to the state historian for D. A. R., Miss Mary Louise Dalton, Wentzville, Mo., and the search for graves in Missouri was begun.

The state historian wrote to the County Clerks, and, in many instances, to Probate Judges of the Counties wherein Revolutionary soldiers resided. By this means 25 graves were located, 21 of which names appeared on the pension list.

On November 2, 1902, the state historian published her list of 111 names in the Globe-Democrat, with an appeal to the public for information regarding graves of these men, as well as graves of Revolutionary soldiers not mentioned in pension list.

A number of answers were received, and our information now covers 34 graves as the result of our work. We hope that the future will bring a yet richer reward.

(MISS) MARY LOUISE DALTON,
State Historian for Missouri's D. A. R., Wentzville, Mo.
To State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

NOTE. An item in the last number of the Review states that Capt. William Baylis is buried near Calhoun, Mo., and one in this number that William Lambley is buried near Mount Vernon, Mo.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE TROUBLES ON THE BORDER, 1860.

THE SOUTHWEST EXPEDITION.

The election of Lincoln was followed by the most alarming disorders on the border of the whole period from 1857 to 1860; disorders which induced Governor Stewart to mobilize a portion of the militia and send a regularly organized expedition to the scene.

In his message to the Twenty-First General Assembly, January 3, 1861, (1) Governor Stewart quoted a telegram from Col. Snyder of November 20, 1860, announcing that "Montgomery has invaded Vernon county," and also the Gevernor's general instructions in reply, to make every effort under the recent Militia Act to protect the citizens. The text of the message dealt chiefly with the gravity of the situation and the impossibility of relying on the unorganized militia of the border, and the danger that, if organized, it would not respect the Territorial boundary.

As the sending of this force of St. Louis and Jefferson City militia, known as the Southwest Expedition, occasioned serious criticism in the Legislature and in the State, the "Documents in relation to Border Difficulties accompanying the Governor's message," (2) like the message itself, were intended to show the necessity of vigorous intervention. The documents selected consisted of a number of petitions, letters and dispatches, November 18 to November 28, from mass meetings, officials and individuals, calling for aid and protection; three reports from Col. Snyder, an unsigned summary of the disorders, and the report of Brig. Gen. Frost,

1. Senate Journal 21 Sess. (27-29); House Journal, 21 Sess., 26-27.
2. Senate Journal, 21 Sess., App., (3-24); House Journal, 21 Sess., App. 3-24.

commanding the Southwest Expedition. Accompanying the last were four affidavits as to the hanging of James Russell Hines, one of the victims, and reports of a Southern Kansas Convention of Abolitionists.

The documents here reprinted are for the most part the day to day reports of Brig. Gen. Frost and Adjt. Gen. Parsons, giving the first impressions of competent observers. They furnish the details of the military operations and give a fresher and more detailed picture of the actual situation than the printed documents. The formal report of Adjt. Gen. Parsons should be compared with that of Brig. Gen. Frost.

It may be of interest to note that the two hundred men left behind by Brig. Gen. Frost (No. X) later formed the nucleus of the force organized at Camp Jackson, St. Louis, the dispersal of which by Gen. Lyon and Frank P. Blair was fatal to Governor Jackson's plan to carry Missouri out of the Union.

JONAS VILES.

I. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Headquarters Southwest Expedition
Camp Gentry Nov. 27 1860

To His Excellency R M Stewart
Commander in Chief.

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I arrived at Smithton on yesterday at 12 o'clock M. in the midst of a most disagreeable shower of rain which much interfered with and retarded the outfitting of my command; in consequence of which I have found it necessary to encamp my command within two and one half miles (the nearest water) of the Village and there remain during this day in order to distribute stores, load wagons, provide transportation and supply horses for the Artillery. After an immense amount of labor (which could only have been accomplished through the zeal and intelligence of every officer of the command) I am now prepared to start at daylight tomorrow on my march.

I have been much disappointed in finding that the companies that were supposed by your Excellency to be organized and ready to join me from Boonville and other points appear to have no existence, I am however consoled by the reflection that I have in the troops from St Louis and Jefferson City a force amply sufficient! in my opinion! when combined with a few irregulars (which I will doubtless be able to pick up) to accomplish all the objects of the Campaign. The reports I received from the disturbed district are so entirely conflicting that I am quite unable to increase in any respect the knowledge your Excellency already possesses, and from present appearances. I am well satisfied that only the actual presence of my Command upon the border will enable me to ascertain the real position of affairs.

That there have been very serious violations of law there can be no doubt, and I have been informed by what seemed good authority that it can be proved before any tribunal that the Territory of our State has been invaded by the outlaw Montgomery and his band and on one of our fellow citizens (1) taken into the neighboring Territory of Kansas and hanged, I have seen persons who have left the border through fear of their lives and have been informed by them that a great many others are doing likewise.

I therefore deem it expedient and proper in view of all the foregoing circumstances to prosecute my march to the borders of our state with all possible expedition consistent with the efficiency of my command. I will endeavor to keep your Excellency fully informed of all matters affecting the peace and good order of our frontier which your Excellency has shown you have so much at heart.

I am Sir Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Svt

D. M. FROST
Brig Gnl Commdy South West Expedition

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1. James Russell Hines. He was captured in Kansas Territory. See No. IX and the affidavits in "Documents accompanying the Governor's Message."

II. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters Southwest Expedition
Camp Stewart Nov 28 1860

To His Excellency R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I took up my line of march this morning at sunrise from Camp Gentry with the troops from St Louis & Jefferson City not having been joined as yet by any others. I find the water in this section of the country extremely scarce and in consequence have had to make a march to-day of eighteen miles much too great a distance for the first day in the field. My command however were in excellent spirits and bore the fatigue like veterans, I shall by making a short march to-morrow gradually inure them to service.

Upon the authority of a reliable merchant of St. Louis who has just returned from Fort Scott and who met my command to-day I have the honor to inform you that Montgomery is at that place in possession of the town holding a Court by his own authority condemning persons whom he has arrested to be hung and otherwise punished, that he has made no raid as yet into the State of Missouri but two Citizens of the State whom he captured in Kansas have been put to death by his order (names not given) he believes Montgomery's command to be about one hundred men in the field.

I have nothing further to communicate to your Execllency at this time. I have the honor to remain

Very Respectfully
Your Obdt Svt

D. M. FROST
Brig Gen Commdy S W Expedition

III. INSTRUCTIONS TO ADJT. GEN. PARSONS.

(Copy.) Executive Department.
Jefferson City, Nov 28, 1860

Genl. G. A. Parsons
Adjt. Genl. M. V. M.

Sir: Upon the receipt of these instructions you will repair with the least possible delay to the scene of troubles on the Southwestern border of our State and after consultation with Brig. Genl. D. M. Frost take all necessary measures to call out any additional force or countermand any orders to that effect as the necessity of the case may suggest

R. M. STEWART
Comdr. in Chief.

By order of
Jno. F. Tracey
Lt. Col & A. D. C.

IV. ADJT. GEN. PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Papinville
Bates County
Dec 2nd 1860

R. M. Stewart,
Commander in Chief Mo Mi

Sir

I reached this place yesterday at 12 Oclock, I find there is a good deal of uneasiness among the good citizens of this place in regard to the condition of things in K. T. and along the line. Several of the Citizens are now in meeting making out a statement of facts in relation to the present troubles on their border their proceedings I shall send to Warsaw for publication as that paper will come out before the Examiner. (1)

You know I am no alarmist, but I am well satisfied that the Citizens of our State along the border have had just cause to apprehend violence on their persons and property

1. Jefferson City Examiner.

by the K T outlaws in their recent outbreak. Things seem quiet now but how long it will last none can tell. There is yet evidently a seeming uneasiness and restlessness among the Citizens which is easily seen.

A man was shot down in his own house by this band last Monday night (his name is Bishop) I sent an express today to Genl. Harney (2) at the request of Genl. Frost. Harney is somewhere between Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott.

I sent Esterbrook today to Butler the county seat of this county to get a Statement of facts from the Citizens there in regard to this outbreak, when received I will mail it to you I should of gone to Butler myself but being compelled to attend to the calls of the Citizens here (which is hourly) I found I could not get off in time to return tonight, tomorrow I shall visit Balls Mill and other places along the line & make this my head Quarters until Genl Frost arrives which will be Tuesday night or Wednesday sometime in the day.

Enclosed I send you a Petition from sundry citizens in Butler and its vicinity, I met Capt. Doak on his way to Jefferson at Clinton with it and turned him back. There I saw Judge Williams and had a conversation with him in regard to the Troubles in K. T. He is a District Judge there. He was compelled to flee to save his life There are several at this place who had to run to save their lives. I will keep you advised constant of things here as they transpire

Respectfully

G. A. PARSONS,
Adjt Gen Mo Mi.

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2. Commander of the United States troops in Kansas Territory.

V. ADJT. GEN. PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

3 Oclock P. M.
Papinville
Dec 2nd 1860

R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief
Sir

Since sealing the letter of this morning to you, I have just received what the people say here is reliable information from a gentleman who has just landed here from the Territory he says he left there for fear he might be hung up himself. He says those marauders say they have plenty of money arms and ammunition and can get what men they may want at any time they choose to call for them from the east. It is said that Montgomery in his public speeches openly proclaim that he intends first to drive out all his enemies from the Territory, and when that is done he intends to enter Missouri at different points and make a clean sweep of that. It is believed here that Montgomery will give Genl Harney a fight if he only has the 150 or 200 regulars that was at Fort Leavenworth. The excitement here is on the increase since morning owing to some K. T. men having run from the Territory and passing through this place and giving accounts of what is going on, to one who is not accustomed to hearing of murder arson and robbery their stories would be exciting in the extreme, but I have heard and seen so much of this Kansas trouble for the last 3 or 4 years that I am prepared to hear any thing.

There is one thing certain that we have plenty of troops already on their way to the border and I can see no reason for augmenting the force to a greater number at this time. It may become necessary before spring (and I believe it will) to station a considerable force on this line If reports be true as to Montgomerys Programm. Some say he can raise a force of one hundred thousand men and some say he can raise 140000 men of course he cannot get them in the Territory but from the East. I am told he has made his brags that he could raise the above number of men, but he has

not got them now, "and sufficient for the day is the evil therof." I therefore think we have men enough in the field

Respectfully

G. A. PARSONS
Adjt Gen Mo Mi

VI. GOVERNOR STEWART TO COL. J. F. SNYDER.

(Copy.) Head Quarters Com. in Chief
Jefferson City Dec 4 60

Col. J. F. Snider (1)
Division Inspector
6th Military District M. O. M.
Bolivar Mo.

Being in receipt of your statements of the 20th and 26th (2) to the effect that Missouri has been invaded, I have sent an adequate force to protect our citizens and suppress all invasions of our State. Having full confidence in your representations as well as in the Military skill of Genl. D. M. Frost and the whole command I, as Commander in Chief am glad to know that those invaders have been dispersed; and in common with every patriot I congratulate myself together with the people of the State that for once in three years through the presence of our troops the citizens of our sparcely inhabited territory can enjoy a nights peace with-

1. The folowing letter is self-explanatory. I have to thank Professor G. C. Broadhead for Colonel Snyder's address.

Virginia, Ill., Oct. 5th, 1907.

Jonas Viles:

Dear Sir: The "Reports" you refer to were written by me. I then resided in Bolivar, Polk Co., Mo., and was serving as Division Inspector of the 6th Military District of Missouri, with the rank of Colonel, by appointment of Governor Robert M. Stewart. When Camp Jackson was taken (at St. Louis) I joined Gen'l. Price and served with him for three years. Released from a Federal prison at Springfield, Mo., I returned to this, my native, State in the fall of 1864, and have since resided here. Have served as a member of the Illinois Legislature, and President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

I was born and raised in St. Clair county, Illinois, immediately opposite St. Louis, was educated in St. Louis, and resided in Bolivar, Mo., eight years preceding the Civil War.

Respectfully yours, etc.,
J. F. SNIDER.

2. Col. Snyder's reports of the 21st and 26th are printed in the "Documents accompanying the Governor's Message."

out danger to themselves and property from these lawless bandits

R. M. STEWART
Com. in Chief
M. V. M.

By order of
John T. Tracy,
Lt. Col & A. D. C.

VII. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters S. W. Expedition Mo
Camp Daniel Boone
December 5th 1860

Sir

I have the honor to report that having marched the Cavalry and Artillery of my command to the border, in the vicinity of Fort Scott and visiting that place in person, I ascertained that Montgomery and his band if organized, were at Mound City, Kansas Territory, and I have accordingly concentrated my forces on the Marais des Cygnes one mile and a half from our western boundary, and about twelve miles from Montgomery's Head Quarters, the nearest point to him, where a proper site for an encampment could be found in our own State. The Infantry Brigade which I had left behind joined me in an excellent condition, and have proved by their rapid marches that they are capable of performing any duty which could be required of that arm of the service.

Their hardihood, endurance and strict attention to duty cannot be too highly commended. As an instance of the efficiency of my Command and to show the thorough state of discipline and as an evidence of their good conduct, I would mention the fact, that I have not a single prisoner in charge of the Guard to-day.

Having now visited in person the disturbed district of

our State, I am able to report to your Excellency, exactly the condition of affairs.

I find that orderly, industrious, and peaceable citizens have been warned to leave: or that they would be robbed and hung—many have deserted their homes taking with them their moveable property, abandoning their farms which can not now be sold, thus presenting the singular anomaly of a rich and fertile country sparsely settled, being rapidly depopulated instead of increasing in the number of its inhabitants—Many along our route have failed to treat us with ordinary civility for fear of incurring the displeasure of these Kansas outlaws and marauders.

The Site of our present camp is the abandoned lands, and near the store of a citizen, who but for these troubles would have been doing a thriving and prosperous business. his premises are now entirely and but yesterday deserted. The pecuniary losses are incalculable, lands which were, and should be worth from fifteen to twenty dollars an acre are now offered at five dollars and find no purchasers. This desolation can not be attributed to a failure of the crops, during the past dry season, for although they are small, I have found no difficulty in buying at reasonable rates forage for the animals of my Command, and we have found stock of every description in good condition, bearing evidence that there is no famine. In view of these facts, And in addition, that as soon as we turn our backs, these scenes will be reenacted to a greater degree, I deem that common Charity, for the outraged and oppressed citizens demands protection, even if we disregard and fail to defend the honor and dignity of our State.

I shall therefore, seek to co-operate with General Harney, who informed me that he intended to march to this point and capture all offenders (but who has not yet arrived,) and thereby restore tranquility along the frontier for a time. Still believing that this relief will be but temporary, and that the interest and honor of the State demands permanent protection, I shall, unless otherwise ordered, proceed at once to organize and equip a force of two hundred men, and mount

them to render them servicable, Such a force stationed at proper points, I am well satisfied will be able to restore confidence and establish a permanent peace on our border; without it anarchy will reign whilst the present population of Kansas exists—

Trusting that your Excellency will sanction the measure I propose

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Your Obt Servt
D. M. FROST,
Brig. Genl. Comdy.
S. W. Expedition.

To
His Excellency
R. M. Stewart
Commander in Chief.

VIII. BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Head Quarters South West Expedition
Camp Daniel Boone December 8th 1860

To His Excellency R M Stewart
Commander in Chief
Sir

Since my last communication to your Excellency I have had Scouts out in the Territory and along the Border and regret to inform your Excellency that Montgomery and his band of marauders have sought Safety by disbanding and Scattering over the Country, in Consequence of which I shall be unable to meet and punish them as they deserve. Having now no organized enemy of our State before us I deem it unnecessary to retain my whole command on the frontier; as however the enemies of the institutions of our State, and the disturbers of our peace Still exist, armed and Equipped with the best arms that money can procure, actuated by the Same lawless Spirit that has hitherto led them on, and who can be called together at an instants notice from their chief, I reiterate what

I stated in my last that the dignity of the State and welfare of all the people along this border, imperatively demands armed protection: I have therefore taken steps to organize a special force of three Companies of Cavalry and a Battery of Artillery (Volunteers from my Command) to remain at or in the vicinity of the County Seat of Bates County and at Balls Mills in Vernon County, from these points fifty miles of our State line opposite Bourbon and Linn Counties in Kansas can be thoroughly and almost daily patrolled. I propose to place in command of these companies none but intelligent and reliable officers and retaining the General Command myself to leave my Adgt Genl Col Jno S Bowen (a distinguished educated Soldier and accomplished Gentleman) in the immediate charge of this force.

By adopting this Course the whole South West will be immediately and greatly benefitted, perfect security to person and property will exist, lands will regain their former Value (now offered at onefourth the price asked three years ago) Settlers will be enabled to return to their homes, the people will recover from the terrorism that now reigns, and one of the fairest portions of our State will be reopened to peaceful and orderly immigrants. If however your Excellency should see proper to disapprove of the Course I have marked out, and the forces be withdrawn, that I have organized then indeed will gloom settle over this portion of our land and anarchy and murder will reign triumphant.

In order to avoid all unnecessary expense to the State I propose despatching the residue of my force not required for the foregoing object on their return march to St. Louis and Jefferson City on Monday next and will report to your Excellency in person as soon thereafter as practicable.

I am Sir

Your most obdt Svt

D. M. FROST

Brig Genl Commanding South West Expedition

IX. REPORT OF ADJT. GEN. PARSONS TO GOVERNOR STEWART.

Office of the Adjutant Genera[l]
Of the State of Missouri
City of Jefferson
December 8th 1860

His Excellency
Robert M Stewart
Commander in Chief of the
Missouri Volunteer Militia
Sir

In obedience to orders from Head Quarters no ——, dated November 28th 1860 (a copy of which is hereto appended), I proceeded forthwith upon the receipt of the same to the South Western border of the state, the scene of the present disturbances.

En route I called upon Brigadier General Frost commanding general of the forces in the field, and after consultation with him I continued my tour to Papinville in Bates County where after careful inquiries of the most reliable and respectable citizens of that county and of the county of Vernon, I have ascertained the following to be substantially the causes of the present disturbed condition of our South Western frontier,

Three or four weeks since a band of marauders of Kansas Territory under the guidance of one James Montgomery and C K Jennison hung Russell Hines a citizen of this State while on a visit to his mother who resides in Kansas near our State line. It seems he was murdered for assisting in the Capture of a fugitive slave in the Territory of Kansas, which slave was the property of a Citizen of Bates county.

That about the 18th day of November last this lawless band entered the residence of Samuel Scott formerly sheriff of Bates County, but who at the time last above mentioned resided in Linn County, Kansas, and murdered him by hanging him by the neck.

That since these desperadoes have murdered the follow-

ing named Citizens residents of Bourbon and Linn Counties Kansas, towit S. D. Moore, Messrs Smith and Bishop, no cause has been ascertained for the last mentioned murders.

They have threatened with violence the Citizens generally on the border who oppose their lawless acts.

They have recently stolen and carried away two slaves from Bates County the property of the estate of Alfred Cary deceased and now hold them at Mound City Kansas Territory and defy all civil or Military power to recapture or restore them.

They have frequently entered the confines of the state for violent and unlawful purposes, and

They have threatened the invasion of South West Missouri for the purpose of carrying away the slaves and declare their acts and plans of operation are sanctioned by leading and prominent friends of the incoming national administration.

I found the citizens on the border in a state of alarm, many having removed their families and property into the interior for safety. Good citizens of Kansas territory have also fled from their homes and come into the state for protection.

The marauding force from the best information I could obtain amounts to about three hundred mounted men well armed and (equip)ped.

The prompt action of Your (Ex)cellency in sending armed relie(f) to our citizens thus threatened with arson and death wil(l) I doubt not have the effect to sp(eedily) restore order quiet and safety, the approach of the troops has already caused these outlaws to disperse and hide themselves in the Territory of Kansas

On my arrival at Papinvill(e) I was informed that Company B mounted Capt Doake and Compa(ny) D, mounted Capt McCool by authority of previous orders were rea(dy) for the field, not deeming their services necessary, I on the 2nd day of December countermanded the orders of Capt Doake and on the 4th of December those of Capt McCool. I do not deem it necessary to call any more troops into the

service, as authorized by my instructions, considering the force already on the march amply sufficient for the campaign.

It is unnecessary for me to report to your Excellency upon the propriety of retaining a portion of the troops on the frontier after peace is restored, as specific suggestions on that point will no doubt be communicated to you by the Commanding General.

I may also state that I found our troops well armed and equipped and well supplied with ammunition clothing and provisions. The health of the Command is excellent, the discipllne and bearing of the officers and soldiers reflect honor on themselves and the state whose rights they have been commissioned to defend. I cannot content myself to close this report without special mention of the accomplished and energetic Commander of the expedition Genl Frost; To him I am greatly indebted for the speedy despatch of the duties required by my instructions, besides being under obligations to him for his personal favors and polite attention

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Your Obt Servt

G. A. PARSONS
Adjt. Genl Mo Mi

P. S. I herewith further return to your Excellency the costs attending my mission under the foregoing orders towit

Nov. 28	Smithton Hotel	bill	2.50
" 29	Belmont	do	3.00
" 30	Stewarts	do	2.50
Dec 2	Butler	do	1.00
" 4	Papinville	do	12.50
" 5	Hewill Lewis	do	2.50
" 7	Smithton	do	3.75
Hack Hire			32.00
Stationary			.50
Services for self			200.00
do	Maj Estabrook		50.00
			$310.25

Upon the receipt of my orders I deemed it necessary to take with me Maj James Estabrook, who by his industry and energy, greatly facilitated the rapid despatch of the business of my mission. I respectfully hope your Excellency will allow him fair conpensation for his services

Respectfully

G. A. PARSONS
Adjt Genl Mo Mi (1)

X. INSTRUCTIONS TO BRIG. GEN. D. M. FROST.

(Copy)

Head Quarters
Com. in Chief
M. V. M.
Executive Department
Jefferson City, Dec. 10th, 1860.

Brig Genl. D. M. Frost
Comdg South West Expedtn
Camp Daniel Boone

Sir:

In reply to yours of 5c Instant and referring to my general orders bearing date Nov. 25c 1860 I hereby order you, if the exigencies of the case in your opinion require it to station Two Hundred (200) men on the Border of this State with such equipment as in your opinion will protect the citizens of the invaded district from the wanton and murderous attacks of the outlaws and bandits preying upon the peaceable and law abiding people of Missouri:

After having detailed if necessary that force the balance of the command will report forthwith at these Head Quarters.

By order of
Jno. T. Tracy
Lt Col & A. D. C.

R. M. STEWART
Com in Chief

1. The manuscript is slightly mutilated.

XI. REPORT OF COL. J. F. SNYDER.

Headquarters 6th Mil. Dist. Mo. V. M.
Bolivar, Mo., Dec. 12th, 1860.

Gov. R. M. Stewart
Commander-in-Chief Mo. V. Militia
Jefferson City, Mo.

Sir;

I have the honor to report that for twenty-one days past I have been, by your special orders, upon the border, exerting my utmost endeavors towards effecting a thorough organization of the militia in the Counties of Bates, Vernon, and Barton. Having no arms or ammunition in this district, I have at no time considered it necessary to call any company of my district into the field for the defense of our citizens

The presence of Gen. Frosts' command in my district and the effective steps that distinguished officer has taken to give peace and security to our border citizens, rendered my services in the field no longer necessary.

I take pleasure in assuring you that all is quiet on our frontier, and that the militia of this district have both the will and the ability to protect themselves, if the State will but furnish them the munitions of war.

I can add nothing to the suggestions I have heretofore made; if arms and ammunition are not furnished the organized companies on my district, we must of course still continue at the mercy of the outlaws of Kansas, or look to your Excellency to keep an armed force continually upon the frontier; but with the proper means of defense we can well take care of ourselves, and protect the State from invasion, at a comparative small cost.

With respect, &c
Your obedient Servant

J. F. SNIDER
Div. Inspector of 6th Mil dist
of Mo. Militia

TOWN OF OSAGE. *

The undersigned have laid off a town, on a large and liberal plan, at the confluence of the Osage and Missouri rivers, and bestowed upon it the name of the former. It lies in the immediate fork of the two rivers, the junction of which is nearly at right angles, and will have a front street on the margin of each, a mile in length—the whole plan is liberal; the streets wide; and large squares left in different places, for buildings of public use and convenience.

The geographical position of this town presents striking advantages: the Osage and Missouri unite in the latitude of 38 degrees 22 minutes, about half way between the mouth of the Kansas and the mouth of the Missouri; the mouth of the Kansas is the proposed western boundary of the State of Missouri—the Mississippi the eastern boundary—the scite of the town is therefore near the center of the proposed State on the line east and west. On the line north and south * * * * So near the territorial center, it will naturally be made the center of communication by the confluence of the rivers which unite there. Reference to a map will show its position as stated, and demonstrate the fairness of its change (chance) to become as well, a place of commerce, as the seat of government for the future State of Missouri.

It will certainly share the commerce of two great rivers; that of the Missouri, which drains a world; and that of Osage, which is navigable six hundred miles; and draws a part of its water from points further south than the Chickasaw Bluffs on the river Mississippi.

The Osage river will furnish the cotton planting country

* An advertisement copied from the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser of June 4, 1819, and subsequent numbers.

of the Missouri State and will be more favorable to the growth of that article than places in the same latitude on the east side of the Mississippi; owing to the superior warmth and dryness of the atmosphere, occasioned by the plains of naked sand which lay to the west of the Kansas and Platte rivers, and which have the natural effect of absorbing moisture and giving heat and dryness to the air. Upon the Osage is rare and valuable timber for building, as cedar and pine, besides the wood common to the Missouri; also vast prairies, or natural meadows, for the grazing of cattle; and large bodies of exceedingly rich and fertile land; part of which is now prepared for market.

The local position of the town of Osage is also excellent, lying in the immediate fork of the rivers, its scite is preferable to any situation on either side; the bank of the Missouri front is of rock; on the Osage front of firm ground, like the banks of the Ohio; the whole town plot and neighboring country is entirely free from inundation, and sufficiently uneven to give that variety of prospect which is so agreeable to the eye, and the different elevations for buildings which are so conducive to the health and cleanliness of a town.

The town of **Osage** will have one advantage, almost peculiar to itself, **the advantage of a harbor for the secure anchorage of steam boats, barges, and vessels engaged in its trade**—the Missouri river has but few places capable of barboring a vessel; and those which anchor in its rapid current are exposed to great danger from floating ice in the winter; the mouth of the Osage is deep, gentle, entirely sheltered from the Missouri ice, and comparatively free from any of its own, owing to the southern sources from which its waters are drawn; the mouth of the Osage river is therefore a secure harbor to vessels engaged in trade at the Osage town.

The healthiness of the situation requires no comment. Both the Missouri and the Osage are famed for the salubrity of their banks, and of the countries through which they flow.

A part of the lots in the above town will be offered for sale at auction in St. Louis, on the 19th day of June next;

and at Franklin, Howard county, on the 13th day of July next.

Terms of sale—six, twelve, eighteen and twenty-four months.

ANGUS LEWIS LANGHANS,
WILLIAM RECTOR,
ALEXANDER M'NAIR,
SAMUEL HAMMOND,
RICHARD GENTRY,
THOMAS RECTOR,
TALBTRT CHAMBERS,
J. M'GUNNEGLE,
HENRY W. CONWAY,
SAMUEL T. BEALL,
STEPHEN GLASCOCK,
THOMAS H. BENTON,
Proprietors.

St. Louis, May 20, 1819.

NOTES.

Soldiers of the Civil War—The Legislature of Wisconsin provided for the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of devising a plan to provide for the preparation of the "History of Wisconsin Soldiers in the Civil War."

A report of the Commission gives a list of twenty-five separate publications containing records of particular regiments. As Missouri had its full quota of regiments in the Union army and about an equal number in the Confederate army, it might be expected that there would be a larger number of publications of the regiments of this State, but there are very few, a half dozen or less. This fact would seem to emphasize the necessity for a Commission in this State with similar object to that of the Wisconsin Commission.

Soldiers of the Revolution. It is not generally known that a soldier of the Revolution, who fought under General Washington, formerly lived in Lawrence County, and that his remains are buried in a little neglected graveyard north of Mount Vernon. His name was William Lambley, and in an early day he entered eighty acres of land in Turnback bottom and built a small grist mill, where he lived until his death. In 1876 a Fourth of July celebration was held near his grave and $50 raised to mark his resting place. A stone wall was built around the grave, and the two stones from his old mill placed at the head and foot as monuments. If there is another soldier of the Revolution buried in Southern Missouri, we have never heard of it.—Mount Vernon Chieftain, August, 1907.

NECROLOGY.

James Clements was born in Dublin, Ireland, August 13, 1819, and at the age of 16 was the newspaper correspondent of the London Times at Brussels, Belgium. He was an intimate friend and companion of Charles Dickens; an associate and later the biographer of Douglas Gerald; also the associate of Thackeray, Leigh Hunt, Charles Lever, and the other writers of London during the period from 1830 to 1858, at which time he came to this country.

In 1861 he published the Missouri State Journal in St. Louis, was connected with the Missouri Republican, and later edited the Guardian, a Catholic weekly journal. He was professor of French in the St. Louis University, and while thus engaged he published a translation from the French language of a history of the Jesuit Order. For several terms he was recorder of deeds in St. Louis. He died in that city October 3, 1907.

Judge Noah M. Given was born in Dearborn County, Indiana, December 1, 1840, and came to Harrisonville in 1866, where he practiced law, and served nine years as circuit judge. Since 1902 he was president of the Citizen's National Bank at Harrisonville. He had been the ruling spirit of the Masonic Home since its establishment in 1886, and was the president of the Board of Directors. He was a thirty-second degree Mason, and a past grand officer in all the branches of Masonry, by which fraternity he was buried.

Judge Given was an active Baptist, and for years was the moderator of the Blue River Baptist Association, having been re-elected but a few weeks ago. He was also supreme reporter of the Knights of Honor. He died in St. Louis October 3, from congestion of the brain, and was buried at Harrisonville.

Hon. Henry J. Spaunhorst was born January 10, 1828,

near Osnabruck, Prussia. His parents came to this country when he was seven years of age, and to St. Louis in 1837, afterwards moving to Union, in Franklin County, and then to Washington, Mo.

For twenty-five years he was member of a wholesale grocery firm, and was in official positions in several banking and insurance companies. In 1873 he was elected president of the German Roman Catholic Central Society of the United States, which position he held until 1891, and was then elected honorary president for life. He organized the company publishing Amerika, and for some years was its president. He was connected with various benevolent societies of St. Louis. He was a member of the Senate in the Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth General Assemblies, 1867-1869, and in 1881 was appointed Labor Commissioner by Gov. Crittenden.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

A History of Southern Missouri and Northern Arkansas. Being an account of the early settlements, the Civil War the Ku-Klux, and times of peace. By **William Monks**, West Plains, Mo. (West Plains, West Plains Journal Co., 1907. Pp 247, ills.)

The author with his father's family settled in Arkansas, about 25 miles from where West Plains is now located. In plain and homely language he tells of the customs, habits, dress and mode of life of the early days in Arkansas and in Missouri.

Much of the book is taken up with the author's personal experiences during the war, in the southern part of the State of Missouri, Col. Monks having adhered to the Union cause.

F. A. S.

MISSOURI STATE TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY.

OFFICERS.

E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Chairman.
Anna Gilday, Kansas City, Secretary.

EDITORS.

Eugene Fair, Kirksville.
State Editor.

N. M. Trenholme, Columbia.
Local Editor

SUBSCRIBE FOR THE REVIEW.

With this number the Missouri Historical Review enters on the second year of its existence. It has filled a want by supplying a journal in which questions of State history are interestingly treated and, through affiliation with the Department of History of the State Teachers' Association, it has begun to meet the practical needs of history teachers throughout the State. It is the hope of the editors of this section of the Review that the forthcoming year will see a large increase in the number of subscribers to the State Historical Society and the Review and that the needs of teachers will be met more satisfactorily than ever before. It should be remembered that at the Moberly meeting of the State Teachers' Association the Review was adopted as the official organ of the Department of History and the support of the members of the section was pledged to it. There are still many of those who were present at Moberly who are not subscribers to their official organ and it is to these teachers particularly that this editorial is addressed. We hope, however, that all teachers of history in the State who are interested in their work and in the subject they teach will help us by becoming subscribers.

SHALL WE HAVE A QUESTION BOX?

It has been suggested that a good feature of this department of the Review would be a Question Box through which perplexing questions relating to the study and teaching of history in schools could be answered. There are constantly coming up for solution difficult questions as to methods, collateral reading and references, text-books and so forth and these editors would be glad to have presented and would attempt to answer satisfactorily. The question is therefore presented—shall we have a Question Box? We would be glad to hear from our readers on this subject. Address communications to the Local Editor, Professor N. M. Trenholme, Columbia, Mo. If there is sufficient demand for such a department it will begin in the next number of the Review.

THE MEETING AT JOPLIN.

The next meeting of the State Teachers' Association will be held at Joplin Dec. 26-28, and interesting general and special programmes are being arranged. The programme for the Department of History is in charge of Professor E. M. Violette of Kirksville, and he is sure to provide a series of valuable papers and discussions. The history people have been showing up strongly at recent meetings and should turn out in large numbers for the meeting this year. These meetings are the only means we have of getting together for exchange of experiences and mutual help and improvement, and it is a mistake not to take advantage of such opportunity. Let everyone who can possibly afford it and can arrange to do so turn up at Joplin on the twenty-sixth of December.

BETTER TRAINED TEACHERS.

With the opening of a new school year our attention is naturally drawn to the great improvement that has taken place in regard to history teaching in this State. Never have we had such a large number of enthusiastic and well trained teachers in our high schools. Nearly every high

school teacher in the State is a graduate of one of the State Normals or of the University. Most of them have specialized in history and are well equipped with the necessary knowledge of the subject and with methods of imparting it to their pupils. We hope in the near future to be able to publish an article showing the great improvement as regards preparation that has taken place among the history teaching profession in the State and particularly in high schools.

SCHOOL LIBRARIES.

This is the time of year when history teachers should overhaul their library of reference books and plan for additions to the number of books available for collateral reading. A very small expenditure will bring most libraries up to date and increase their usefulness. Particular effort should be made to provide duplicate copies of the most used books rather than too great variety of less valuable works. If the school board will not supply an adequate number of reference works the difficulty can sometimes be solved by raising money in other ways. Sometimes pupils will be willing to subscribe for a small class library for reference use, sometimes money for books can be made by an entertainment or other means resorted to by the teacher and pupils. The important thing is to get the books and then use them to the fullest possible advantage. Do not keep them locked up all the time, and as far as possible make them accessible to the pupils so that they may not learn their history from the text-books alone. The function of a reference library in history is to supplement the text-book and teach the student that the text-book is but a part of the work and that there is much of value outside its covers. Too often both teacher and pupils come to depend absolutely on the text-book and for this attitude of mind the best corrective is the possession and use of a good up-to-date reference library. The Review is printing each month a list of reference books in history.

BOOKS IN ANCIENT HISTORY.

A Source Book of Greek History. By **Fred Morrow Fling**, Ph. D., Professor of European History in the University of Nebraska. (Boston. D. C. Heath & Co. 1907. Pp vii, 370.)

Professor Fling has long been known as an enthusiastic advocate of source study and many teachers are already familiar with his leaflets containing extracts from the sources for Ancient History. He now comes forward as the editor of a new and revised collection in book form of interesting passages from the chief Greek authors. In a very characteristic preface Professor Fling discusses the use and value of sources and gives some sensible advice as to how to get the most benefit from source study, and teachers would do well to study this part of the book carefully before attempting to make use of the extracts that follow.

The main part of the Source Book consists of translated extracts from Greek sources arranged under thirteen general heads beginning with "Primitive Greek Society" and ending with "The Achaean League." In addition there are two Appendixes one dealing with the writers cited and the other consisting of remarks and questions on the illustrations. The arrangement of topics and sub-topics is excellent throughout the work and the questions on both the source extracts and on the well selected illustrations are helpful and stimulating. The chief criticism to be made of the work as a whole is its failure to keep pace with recent scholarship in Greek History in that it omits all inscriptional material and admits a good deal of doubtful value and authenticity from Plutarch and Herodotus. The study of Ancient History cannot be expected to advance unless there is constant criticism and unless constant use is made of new discoveries and developments. We cannot help but feel that a little critical apparatus in the way of notes or commentary on some of the extracts would have been of value to the body of the text. In this respect Fling's Source Book is lacking as is the companion Source Book for Roman History edited by Professor Munro of Wisconsin.

In spite of the drawbacks noted above teachers of Ancient History will welcome this work and can make good use of it for collateral reading and source study and illustration. Its moderate price, handy size, clear type, excellent illustrations and useful index will commend it strongly for use in schools and colleges.

BOOKS ON MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY,

Medieval Civilization. Selected Studies from European Authors. By **Dana Carlton Munro** and **George Clark Sellery.** (New York: The Century Co. 1907.)

This is a new and enlarged edition of an already well known and deservedly popular reference work. It contains a large number of interesting and scholarly selections from French and German writers excellently translated and well adapted for the use of students. The wise plan has been followed in this new edition of adding new matter to the old thus preserving the paging of the original edition. Among the new extracts that appear is a valuable sketch of Gerbert of Rheims, Pope Sylvester II, from the preface of Havet's edition of Gerbert's Letters, and there also appear articles on St. Bernard of Clairvaux and on St. Louis of France by Luchaire and Langlois respectivly, the latter also supplying the material for the extract dealing with "The Intellectual Movement of the Thirteenth Century." The transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance is well indicated by an extract from Gebhardt entitled "Antecedents of the Renaissance," one from Neumann on the "Relation of Antiquity to the Renaissance," and, finally, one from Roloff on the "French Army in the Time of Charles VII." Teachers of medieval and modern history will find the enlarged edition of great value in their work on account of the new extracts added.

A well arranged list of writers drawn from and their works together with a satisfactory index are appended to the volume.

A Syllabus for the History of Western Europe. With References and Review Questions. (Based on Robinson's "Introduction to the History of Western Europe.") By **Norman Maclaren Trenholme,** Professor of History in the University of Missouri. Part I. The Middle Ages. (Boston, New York, Chicago. Ginn & Co. 1907. Pp. vii, 80.)

Reference Studies in Medieval History. By **James Westfall Thompson,** Department of History, **University of Chicago.** (Chicago. 1907. Pp. 130.)

The number of outlines and syllabi for medieval history is constantly increasing. Teachers are now familiar with Munro's, Richardson's. that of the New England History Teachers' Association and others of less note. As a rule, however, such syllabi are difficult to use on account of being the basis of special lecture courses of an advanced character. Professor Trenholme's new Syllabus aims to avoid this difficulty by carefully following the topics in Robinson's "History of Western Europe," and the same author's "Readings in European History." Forty topics are thus outlined in Part 1, dealing with the Middle Ages and after each topic a list of collateral references is given, while after every group of five or six topics there are Review Questions. The outlines have been carefully prepared, the references are not too advanced for high school and college pupils, and the book is excellently printed and bound. It should prove a helpful companion to Robinson's popular text.

Professor J. W. Thompson of the Department of History of Chicago University has brought out an exceedingly useful syllabus of topics and references for medieval history. It contains general and special reading lists on almost every important topic in the field. The references are to material in English and in English reviews of foreign works. In compiling these lists Professor Thompson has made use of various syllabi for the period and of his own extensive bibliographical knowledge. One very desirable feature is a list of historical atlases and of maps for particular periods and movements. At the end of the Studies are lists of medieval rulers in

church and state and a table of important dates. We have no hesitation in saying that this work will be much appreciated by teachers and students of medieval history.

A Political History of Modern Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day. With Sixteen Genealogical Tables and Twenty-two Maps. By **Ferdinand Schwill, Ph. D.** Assistant Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xvi, 607.)

This is a new and much enlarged edition of Professor Schwill's well known text-book on the "History of Modern Europe." Many portions have been entirely rewritten and much new matter added thus making the present volume about one hundred and fifty pages longer than the old one. The bibliographies are given at the beginning of the chapters instead of at the end and the useful maps of the first edition have been made more usable by being placed in proper relation with the text and certain new ones added. The net result of these and other changes has been to greatly improve the book and it will no doubt take its place as the standard one volume sketch of the political development of Modern Europe. Its clear style, excellent arrangement of topics, and critical references and apparatus make it a model text or reference work.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

An Introduction to the English Historians. By **Charles A. Beard, Ph. D.,** Lecturer in History and Political Science, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1906. Pp. xi, 669.)

This work, which appeared towards the close of last year, will commend itself to teachers and students as a valuable reference book. The purpose of he author is to provide a reading book for students made up of selections from the great English historians. These selections are skillfully arranged under topical chapter headings and in their entirety form a fairly complete survey of the more important ques-

tions in general English history. There will be differences of opinion, of course, as to the wisdom of some of Dr. Beard's selections, but any fair minded critic will admit that the task he undertook was a most difficult one and that the selections are as a rule excellent ones for purposes of collateral reading and study. It is to be regretted that the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were passed over so hurriedly when so much of an important transitional character took place during them and we might not have felt the loss greatly if Dr. Beard had omitted some of the extracts in connection with the English Reformation. The best parts of the book for reference purposes are undoubtedly the first two sections and the last three in which the editor has been particularly fortunate in his selections. We would like to see him edit a separate volume for Modern English history in which the selections he was forced to omit, on acount of space, could appear and Part IX on "The Empire in the Nineteenth Century" could be made more complete. N. M. T.

AMERICAN HISTORY.

History of the United States. By **Henry William Elson.** (New York: The Macmilan Co. 1904. Pp. xxxii,, 911.)

School History of the United States. By **Henry William Elson. (New York:** The Macmillan Co. 1906. Pp. xxviii 491.)

The task Mr. Elson has set himself in his larger work is to write a single volume History of the United States, intermediate between the elementary histories and the textbooks; a volume which shall combine "the science of historical research with the art of historical composition." The preface, indeed, outlines a plan very similar to that of Green's "Short History of the English People." Such a volume on American History is sorely needed, and any serious attempt to produce it deserves respectful attention. It is because Mr. Elson has made such an earnest, honest attempt that one closes the book with regret rather than with irritation.

The chief defect of the book is far more serious than any failure to produce a work of literary art. The author, in spite of his very evident and very honest endeavor to tell the truth, seems quite lacking in historical spirit, quite untrained in "the science of historical research." A few instances may be given as characteristic of his methods. The arrangement of the bibliography and the use of authorities show little discrimination in the relative value of printed books. Fiske is grouped with Adams, Parkman and Rhodes, as a scientific historian, a great injustice to Fiske himself. Parton's anecdotes of Andrew Jackson are accepted without question and given at length. The same lack of critical attitude is almost naively evident in the Pocahontas controversy. The only ground for doubting the story is Smith's well known spirit of boasting and the fact that the story is not mentioned in Smith's first account of his capture, while the fact that similar incidents occurred among other Indian tribes is an "almost conclusive" proof of Smith's truthfulness! Controverted questions, often needlessly but conscientiously included, are more than once settled one way in the text and quite differently in the foot note. Needless to say, the general result is many mistakes and misinterpretations.

In fact, Mr. Elson has set himself a tremendously difficult task for which he was not altogether equipped. The book remains, however, the best single volume covering the entire period. Its tone is eminently fair, the confidence in and the enthusiasm for American ideals is healthy and refreshing and seldom obtrusive. The discussions of the causes of the American Revolution and of the Civil War are sane, moderate, and intelligent. The general reader who finishes the volume will gain an impression of the course of American History that is correct on the whole, but some hazy and confused outlines, and sometimes incorrect in detail.

The School History also is written with the avowed purpose of stimulating interest. The faults of the larger book are apparent to a less degree. There is too much attention to mere anecdote and to the narrative and not enough to

development and to institutions. As a text-book it belongs to the same class with Barnes and Montgomery, and can hardly hope to displace the more modern books. The bibliographies and references are distinctly unsatisfactory.

J. V.

CIVICS.

Civil Government, Local, State and National. By **Isidor Loeb, L. L. B., Ph. D.,** and **The History of Missouri,** by **Walter Williams,** Editor of the "Columbia, Missouri, Herald," and "The State of Missouri." (Carrollton, Mo., Democrat Printing Co. 1907. Pp. VII, 115, 154.)

For some time past there has been a pressing demand for a new Civil Government and History of Missouri for use in the public schools of this State. It is fortunate, therefore, that the task of supplying a new text has fallen into such capable hands as those of Professor Loeb and Mr. Walter Williams and they are to be commended for the careful and scholarly way in which they have handled their respective fields.

The first part of the book, on Civil Government, presents in its plan of treatment and method of presentation an example of how the government of the State and nation should be taught and studied in our schools. It proceeds from the familiar to the unfamiliar aspects of government and in its clear and simple presentation of the essential facts of local, State and national government it is a model text-book of its kind. All citizens of Missouri would profit from a perusal of its pages which contain not only a clear outline of facts in regard to the American government, but much also of the theory of State and of why good, honest and clean government is better than graft and corruption. Professor Loeb's manual has purpose and meaning to it and will exert a most beneficial influence on the minds of pupils and teachers and this is because it is written by a real teacher of government who understands the important educational aspects of his subject.

The second part of the book is given up to a sketch of

the History of Missouri from the pen of the brilliant editor of the Columbia, Missouri, Herald. Whatever Mr. Walter Williams writes is interesting and his enrolling in the ranks of historians is gratifying to all professional history men. His account of the history of the State will do him no discredit though all the points he makes and the arrangement of his history may not meet with universal approval. Mr. Williams has an eye for the picturesque in history and his appeal is generally made to the imaginations of his readers rather than their reasons. He is consequently somewhat apt to ignore the law of cause and effect and of unity and continuity in historical progress and to fall into brilliant but purely factual narration of events without heed to the whence and wherefore.

Mr. Williams' story of the State is divided into three parts. The first part relates briefly and picturesquely, in two chapters, the doings of Spanish and French explorers and the character and extent of their settlements. Then follow a group of seven chapters dealing with the history and civilization of Missouri as a territory forming Part II of the History. The main part of the book, however, is comprised by the hundred pages dealing with "Missouri as a State," which, divided into fifteen chapters, make up Part III. In this portion of his sketch Mr. Williams gives a most interesting survey of Missouri political history since 1820. His account of the great public men of Missouri is especially illuminating but if anything too many names and dates crowd the pages and school children will find many parts of it hard to study.

The general style and appearance of the book commend it to teachers for it is attractively bound and is printed by Buxton and Skinner, of St. Louis, on excellent paper. It is to be regretted, however, that no index for either the Civil Government or History is provided although this is a less serious omission in a grade school book than it would be in the case of a high school text.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The University of Missouri has suffered a severe loss in the departure of Dr. A. Ross Hill, who for three years was the efficient head of its Teachers' College. Dr. Hill was always interested in the teaching of History in the state and did much to encourage better training of teachers and higher professional ideals. The Department of History of the State Teachers' Association wish him success in his new field of work at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. In addition to Dr. Hill the University has lost Dr. Frank P. Graves, Professor of the History of Education, who has accepted a professorship at the Ohio State University. The positions left vacant by Professors Hill and Graves have been temporarily filled by the appointment of Dr. Charters, from the Winona, Wis., Normal School, and of Professor Whipple, from Cornell University. The work in the History of Education is being directed by Professor Coursault, while Professor Meriam is acting dean of the Teachers' College, which is having a very prosperous year with largely increased enrollment.

A number of important changes have taken place in the History staffs of the different institutions in the State. Some of these were noted last spring but others have developed since. At the University Mr. Gromer's position as Instructor in American History has been filled by the appointment of Dr. F. F. Stephens from the University of Pennsylvania; Mr. C. C. Eckhardt has returned from his year's leave of absence, which he spent at Cornell University earning his Ph. D. degree, and has stepped into his old position as Instructor in Modern European History; Mr. E. V. Vaughn has been promoted to an instructorship in English and European History and an additional instructor has been appointed in the same field in the person of Mr. Clarence Perkins from Harvard University. There are over five hundred students enrolled in History at the University. The teaching staff now numbers six of the rank of instructor or higher, and some twenty-five classes are organized.

At the Kirksville Normal School Professor Violette has returned from his year's leave of absence and taken his place as head of the work in European History. The school regretted greatly not being able to add Professor Violette's substitute, Dr. Pooley, to the teaching staff in History. Dr. Pooley after being appointed in the University of Missouri decided to accept a professorship at the University of South Dakota where he was offered an attractive salary and a most responsible position. The enrollment in all departments at Kirksville is large and as usual the History Department is well to the front.

Reports from Springfield indicate a prosperous year for the new Normal located there. Professor B. M. Anderson is ambitious and aggressive in his work and is entering the field of Extension work with courses on American History and Education to be given at Carthage, Mo., during the coming winter.

The local editor is in receipt of copies of the Proceedings of the North Central History Teachers' Association at Chicago last March. This contains a number of interesting and valuable papers chief among which might be mentioned Professor Channing's address on the "Teaching of American History in Schools and Colleges," and Professor McLaughlin's very valuable discussion of this address. Numerous other papers are printed and the Proceedings are well worth having. Members of the North Central History Teachers' Association besides receiving their own society's proceedings also get those of the New England History Teachers' Association and of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, three valuable sets of papers in one year. The annual meeting of the North Central History Teachers' Association will be held at Chicago at the end of March, 1908. The dues in the association, entitling to membership and to the three reports mentioned above, are but one dollar. The local editor, Professor N. M. Trenholme, is a member of the Executive Committee of the Association, and any history teacher in the State who would like to join should communicate with him.

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison,

Wis., December 27-31, 1907, in conjunction with the Economic, Political Science and Sociological Associations. According to the current number of the American Historical Review there will be "sessions devoted to American economic history, to the European History of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to Western History, American and Canadian. There will be a conferenc of state and local historical societies, and one on the relations of history and geography. There will also be six simultaneous informal conferences of workers in mediaeval, modern European, Oriental, American colonial and American constitutional history, and in the history of the United States since 1865." This promises a most interesting programme of papers and conferences and it is to be hoped that as many Missouri representatives as possible will go to Madison.

The October number of the American Historical Review has come to hand but does not contain the usual number of interesting articles. The most important articles are two relating to American History, one by A. S. Salley, Jr., entitled, "The Mecklenburg Declaration: the Present Status of the Question," and the other by Max Farrand on "The Records of the Federal Convention." There are a number of interesting reviews and book notes and the usual historical gossip in the Notes and News.

NOTE. Owing to the pressure of space in this number the section of the brief Annotated Bibliography of Reference Books in History relating to English History which should have appeared in this issue has been postponed to the January number of the Review.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 2 JANUARY, 1908. NO. 2

THE RETIREMENT OF THOMAS H. BENTON FROM THE SENATE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

II.

As one might naturally infer from the passage of the Jackson Resolutions, the radical pro-slavery element in Missouri, the Anti-Bentonites, had acquired sufficient strength and courage in 1849 to take the field openly against Benton and in support of the Resolutions. A majority of the newspapers appear to have been Anti-Benton. (1) Men of great ability, in public addresses and letters, denied the soundness of Benton's views, denounced his course and justified their own, making much of his refusal to obey the instructions of the Legislature. (2) Among these public and outspoken critics of Benton, none were more conspicuous than his colleague in the Senate, David

1. As early as the 1st of July, 1849, the following Democratic newspapers, and perhaps others, were actively opposed to Benton: The Metropolitan, at Jefferson City; The Platte Argus, at Platte City; The Missouri Courier, The Southern Standard, The Fayette Democrat; The Howard County Banner; The Northeastern Reporter; The Louisiana (Mo.) Banner, the Grand River Chronicle. The principal papers supporting Benton were the St. Louis Union, and the Jefferson City Enquirer. The Whig press was on the whole Anti-Benton. See the Western Eagle, 6 July, 1849.

2. Both Benton and Judge Birch, (Anti), spoke at Liberty, 16 July, 1849.

R. Atkinson, and James S. Green, of St. Louis. The former had been re-elected to the Senate for a full term by the General Assembly which had passed the Jackson Resolutions. The latter, a brilliant young lawyer, was a member of the House of Representatives, and in 1857 succeeded Atchison in the Senate. Both Atchison and Green wrote letters designed for publication in which they set forth at great length their position upon the issues raised by the Resolutions and Benton's appeal. Mr. Green wrote probably the ablest reply to Benton and made the most adroit attack of the campaign upon the latter's attitude toward the subject of slavery. (3)

Green's letter, (4) dated Washington, D. C., December 10, 1849, opens with a discussion and emphatic endorsement of the right of State Legislatures to instruct Senators in Congress. Benton's course in refusing obedience, amounting to "a practical abandonment of the doctrine of instruction," is then taken up for the purpose of discrediting the Senator in the eyes of the Missouri Democracy. By a species of casuistry the writer then endeavors to show that the Jackson Resolutions, literally interpreted, imposed no obligations with which a person holding Colonel Benton's views of the power of Congress over slavery in the Territories could not consistently comply.

Benton's charge that the Resolutions were forced through the Legislature by fraud and deception, Green takes up next, and evades without directly denying. Having charged Sena-

3. Respecting the importance of Green in the war against Benton, James G. Blaine said: "Green had done more than any other man in Missouri to break the power of Thomas H. Benton as a leader of the Democracy. His arraignment of Benton before the people of Missouri in 1849, when he was but thirty-two years of age, was one of the most aggressive and successful warfares in our political annals." 1 Twenty Years of Congress, 273. I have been able to discover very little evidence other than the letter mentioned above which justifies this high estimate of Green's efforts against Benton. I have also been unable to discover a copy of the letter which Atchison wrote. Its existence is mentioned, and a paragraph from it is quoted, by the Jefferson Inquirer, 21 May, 1853.

4. This letter was addressed to Messrs. John S. Farish, John W. Minor, Thomas Roberts, Wesley Burks, and others, citizens of Schuyler County, Mo. A copy of this letter in pamphlet form is in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

tor Benton with an abandonment of the doctrine of instruction, devoid of the slightest technical justification, Mr. Green proceeds to inpeach Senator Benton's "soundness" upon the slavery issue, and especially with reference to the Wilmot Proviso; and this is the most significant part of the letter. "Our Resolutions of instruction," wrote Green, "seem to have been drawn **with the special intention to condemn the Wilmot Proviso,** (5) and all measures of a kindred nature." Senator Benton's opposition to these Resolutions induced the writer to believe that Benton was "really in favor of that fanatical and treacherous measure." "His recent conduct and speeches afforded strong corroborative evidence of the same fact." (6) Continuing in this line of attack, Green went on to say:

"On questions so vital, so momentous as this, it is certainly important that the people should know precisely, without doubt or ambiguity, the opinions of their public servants. How else can they expect to be faithfully and truly represented? Colonel Benton has been asked frequently by his constituents for his opinions on the subject, and he has never answered any one so as to make himself understood; nor would he give them the least satisfaction. He replied '**I make no pledges—I give no bonds;**' and in no instance would he answer whether he was **for** or **against Free Soilism.** Now, I believe from the facts above given, together with various others, that he is as much a **Free Soiler** as David Wilmot; but yet there are many good and worthy citizens of our State who think he is **against** Free Soilism, and would abandon him in an instant if they believed he would favor that odious and dangerous scheme. To my certain knowledge some of his friends consider him committed for the Proviso, and others consider him against it. One or the other of these must be deceived—one or the other must be disappointed. In such case, neither

5. The black face type is mine.

6. Numerous passages from Benton's speeches are then cited in support of this statement, after which Mr. Green launched into a long argument against the Proviso. Beginning with the campaign of 1849, it will be observed that the assaults upon Benton are concentrated upon his position toward the Proviso, as in 1844 they had been directed against his position upon the Texas question.

one should repose any confidence in the man, who knowingly and willfully practices such duplicity and double-dealing as must eventuate in the disappointment of one or both; and no man can tell but that he himself may be the sufferer...."

The letter closed with a brief allusion to public sentiment in Missouri toward the Wilmot Proviso, and to the character of the canvass conducted by Colonel Benton during the preceding summer and autumn.

That the campaign of 1849 in Missouri had been not only one of more than ordinary interest and excitement but also exceedingly acrimonious appears more clearly from a letter written by Adam Klippel, (7) a strong Benton sympathizer, to Hon. Salmon P. Chase while the canvass was at its height. The letter was dated St. Joseph, Missouri, September 14th, 1849, and in it the writer gives the following brief but vivid and circumstantial account of the agitation and acrimony attending this remarkable campaign:

"Dear Sir—You are no doubt aware of the excitement and agitation in Missouri on the slavery question, and the extraordinary exertions now going on to defeat Col. Benton's reelection to the Senate.....Believe me, sir, the excitement prevalent in this State at this moment, is fully equal to a Presidential campaign, such as we have seen in Ohio last summer and fall. Everywhere Benton's appeal, his course, slavery in the Territories, abolitionism, &s., &c., are discussed and talked over most lively. And Mr. Benton is traveling over the State making speeches to the people, and at every place he goes immense numbers are present to hear. Mr. Benton spoke in this town on the 9th of August, to a very large concourse of people—about 1,500 persons....I was afraid Mr. Benton would commit a blunder, as his mind was very much excited. A little previous to making his speech, he was arrested for

7. At the time of writing this letter, Klippel was a printer. Later he became a clergyman in the Methodist Episcopal Church and an editor. In 1860 he took the stump with Carl Schurz in Missouri in behalf of Lincoln. (Rep. Am. Hist. Assn., 1902, vol. II.) Diary and Correspondence of S. P. Chase, 470, citing U. S. Biographical Dictionary (Missouri Volume). The letter quoted in the text is also given in the same volume, 470, ff.

slander. Judge James H. Birch—who is following Benton wherever he goes, making opposition speeches—was the man that sued Benton, for accusing him of whipping his wife. (8)

"Judge Birch spoke here last Saturday (Sept. 8) together with our own representative in Congress—Willard P. Hall, the latter taking only a milder ground of opposition to Mr. Benton. Every disguise, as to the intention of these men towards Benton, is done away. They openly declare that they "**are determined to put down Benton!**" All the judges, more or less, in Missouri are out against Benton; and Mr. Benton in return comes down upon them in no unqualified terms—calling them nullifiers, disunionists, &c. I am sorry Mr. Benton indulges in so much **profanity.** It looks certainly very bad, especially so in a Statesman. He curses the judges personally, and everybody else that disagrees with him. Yet in this respect his opponents—Atchison and all his followers, the Judges—are not a whit behind. Nine out of twenty-two democratic papers in the State, it appears are out against Benton, and are unbounded in villifying him, and such epithets as 'Traitor,' 'Apostate,' 'Scoundrel,' 'Barnburner,' 'Abolitionist,' 'Free Soiler,' are continually heaped upon him unsparingly. At the head of these stands the Jefferson City 'Metropolitan' —a miserable sheet,....I am afraid Benton will be defeated. The people of Missouri, however, so far as I have been able to see will sustain Col. Benton. But notwithstanding this, I am afraid,—very much afraid—our General Assembly will drop Benton, and send in his place another such a dough-head and

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8. See footnote on a preceding page, quoting Paxton's Annals, 117.

9. Calhoun wrote to Thomas G. Clemson, 24 Aug. 1849: "....Benton and Clay are both playing for the North. I enclose in pamphlet form my notice of his assault on me....It is, so far as I have heard, regarded as triumphant. It is said that he will not be able to sustain himself in Missouri. His colleague, Gen. Atchison, says he has no chance to be re-elected." Calhoun's Correspondence (Rep. Am. Hist. Assn., 1899) 771.

In the same month Calhoun wrote to A. W. Venable: "I hear from Missouri that Benton's days are numbered. Atchison and Green say that he has as good a chance to be elected Pope, as to be elected Senator." Ibid, 770; see also, Ibid, 1204.

Slavery-Propogandist as General Atchison, who is also now canvassing the State against Benton....." (10)

The effect of Benton's appeal and the canvass which ensued, was, in the words of another contemporary, to "stir popular feeling from its profoundest depths." (11) Benton's appeal assumed the character of a test. Upon it and upon the Jackson Resolutions, including the subject of slavery in the Territories, it "became obligatory for every one to give an opinion who was a solicitor for public favor." (12) Political friends "completely separated" upon the Resolutions and were "widely diversified in sentiment about their construction." (13) Democratic candidates for Congress found it necessary to write circular letters to their constituents in which they carefully defined their position upon the burning issues of the day. "These resolutions," wrote one candidate for Congress, (14) "have been so much discussed, so critically reviewed, so wildly denounced, and so warmly eulogized, that it becomes almost impossible to divest the mind of the over-heightened colorings that have been thrown around them, and subject them to a calm, philosophic review." (15)

The political ferment was not confined to the ranks of the Democratic party in Missouri; it affected the Whigs also. The attitude of the latter party throughout the campaign of

10. I have not been able to learn the itinerary of either Atchison or Birch. The former spoke in St. Joseph the latter part of September and probably spoke in Jackson in the same month. See The Western Eagle, 31 Aug. 1849.

11. Col. William F. Switzler of Columbia, Mo.

12. Circular of Mr. James S. Bowlin to his constituents, the Voters of the First Congressional District in Missouri, (1850); a pamphlet belonging to the Missouri Historical Society.

13. Ibid.

14. Mr. Bowlin, op. cit. Mr. Bowlin at first tried to maintain a neutral attitude, but was soon forced to take sides, and then came out against Benton.

15. There is an echo of this storm and stress period of 1849 in the proceedings of Congress which met in December, 1849, in connection with the presentation of the Jackson Resolutions in the Senate by Mr. Atchison on the 3d of Jan. 1850; 21 Cong. Globe, Pt. I, 98; Senate Journal, 1st session, 31 Cong. 48. Benton's remarks on this occasion are reproduced in another connection in 2 Thirty Years' View, 361-2. The Resolutions were presented to the House by Mr. Green, 31 Dec., 1849; House Journal, 203.

1849-1850 is well described by Colonel Switzler, himself a contemporary Whig: (16)

"The Whigs, at all times a minority in the State, claimed to occupy a position of 'armed neutrality' touching the distracting questions which threatened the unity and power, if not the very existence of their Democratic opponents. It is not to be denied, however, that quite naturally, they sought to foment the prevailing discord, and in reference to the Jackson Resolutions themselves, sympathized with Colonel Benton. (17) Their representatives in both branches of the General Assembly had opposed them by speech and vote at the time of their adoption, and for similar reasons to those afterwards presented by Colonel Benton in his warfare upon them." By the time it became necessary to elect a successor to Benton in 1850, "the Whigs themselves were to some extent divided into Benton and Anti-Benton Whigs, designations which attached to the one segment or the other according to the intensity of its pro-slavery or anti-slavery sentiments."

Very little evidence has been found which indicates clearly what the leaders and lieutenants of the two great factions in the Missouri Democracy did in the spring and summer of 1850. Apparently the State's two Senators, Benton and Atchison, were fully occupied with the absorbing topics then engrossing the attention not only of Congress but of the whole country. We read of few speeches in Missouri; in fact, few were needed, for the issues had all been clearly defined during the exciting contest of the year preceding.

16. History of Missouri, 272.

17. This may be true in general, but there were numerous exceptions. For example, The Western Eagle endorsed the substance of the Resolutions, but repudiated the idea of nullification or secession. The Whigs naturally availed themselves of the disaffection in the Democratic ranks to conduct a State and Congressional campaign of unusual vigor in 1850. See The Western Eagle, 17 Aug., 1849, 29 Mar., 28 June, 19 July, 2 Aug.. and 23 Aug., 1850. As early as the 1st of April, 1850, the possibility of bringing about the election of a Whig to the Senate was appreciated, and urged in the Whig press. See The Western Eagle, 12 April, 1850, communication from A New Madrid Whig.

the true interests of the State shall have been elected, or until the 5th day of March, next." (24)

The resolution was laid upon the table, but it is significant of the animus of the Anti-Benton members, and the resolute determination of some to compass the defeat of Benton at any price.

"The war of the factions raged furiously, each 'wing' of the Democratic party preferring the success of the Whigs to the success of the opposing division of their own party. Finally ..... a portion of the line of each of the opposing forces gave way, and victory perched upon the banner of the Whigs." (25) On the fortieth ballot, Henry S. Geyer, a lawyer of eminent ability residing in St . Louis, was elected for the term of six years beginning March 4th, 1851. On that date Thomas H. Benton, after a period of thirty years' service, ceased to be a Senator of the United States.

According to the calculation of his enemies, Benton should have retired from political life after his defeat in 1851; (26) but they had reckoned without their host. A Benton temporarily cast down and a Benton vanquished and destroyed were two entirely different things, as they were soon to discover. Benton immediately set about reorganizing his "bolt" from the regular Democratic organization in Missouri. (27)

When the parties in that State were about to prepare for the Congressional, State and Presidential elections in 1852, the Antis made another effort to heal the schism which had resulted in the election of a Whig as Senator, and sought to bring together into one State convention all who still

24. Missouri Senate Journal, 1850-51, 88. See also report of the House Committee on Federal Relations, in Missouri House Journal, appendix, 239, ff.

25. Switzler's Missouri, 275. The break in the Democratic ranks began about the 16th of January, and seems to have come from the Anti-Benton side. See the dispatch sent to The Western Eagle on that day, issue of 17 Jan., 1851.

26. Statement of Judge William C. Price, reported to me by Mr. Connelley.

27. See the Washington Correspondent of the Louisville (Ky.) Courier, quoted in The Western Eagle, 21 March, 1851.

claimed to be Democrats. But with this Benton would have nothing to do. Leters were published by him in denunciation of the movement toward factional reconciliation, and his followers were forbidden to participate in the State Democratic convention which met at Jefferson City early in the summer of 1852. That convention, composed mainly of radicals, manifested a willingness to forget the past, including Benton's "hostility to the Compromise measure of 1850," his disobedience of the legislative instructions, and his open "bolt" from the Democratic party, "on condition that he and his supporters would 'acquiesce' in the. adjustment measures of 1850 and the principles they established, and in good faith adhere to the party organization and nominees." (28)

In less than two months after the Jefferson City convention, "Colonel Benton took the stump again in Missouri, denounced the Democratic State convention and its platform, derided all who adhered to it, and proclaimed that he would never again support the nominees even of a Democratic National Convention." (29)

Acting in accordance with Colonel Benton's admonitions, "his friends drew off from the Democratic party in most portions of the State where they had any strength. In the First Congressional District, the regular convention nominated as the Democratic candidate for Congress, Col. Lewis V. Bogy; the Benton men bolted and Colonel Benton ran as an independent candidate. His example and his advice were followed generally by his friends; they bolted from the regular Democratic organization, formed a new organization and continued to act under it until after the defeat of Benton for re-election to the Senate in 1854-55.

Colonel Benton's election to the House of Representatives was merely an episode in his struggle for re-election to the

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28. Rev. Mo. Politics, 8.
29. Ibid.

Senate. (30.) The same fury and vehemence and vituperation characterize his campaign in 1852 that had distinguished his canvass three years earlier. Throughout the whole of the tremendous contest for election to the House, from which he emerged triumphant, "he spared no public or personal denunciation. He exhausted every expletive of abuse. He ransacked the entire range of the English language for terms of scorn and derision. He spared no character. He wavered in no contest. He struck at everything and everybody, fiercely, powerfully, and with a rude grandeur of gigantic rage and hate. He was an angry Vulcan forging and launching thunderbolts of hate." (31)

Long after Colonel Benton's election to the House, the war of the factions continued. In August, 1852, a special session of the Legislature was called to consider the subject of Internal Improvements, a subject which, during this period, was ordinarily deeply exciting of itself in Missouri politics. Great, however, "as was the particular interest everywhere felt in the early completion" of the railroads within the State, "nothing could obscure the camp-fires of the political factions, or smooth the ragged edge of their conflicts. Fresh from the turbulence of the State canvass, which had closed on the first Monday of the month, the Senators and Representatives of the people, supplemented by a large and active lobby, assembled at the Capitol, and at the very threshhold confronted the questions of Benton and Anti-Benton, Free-soil and Slave-soil, Whig and Democrat, Hard and Soft. Therefore, a most bitter and protracted struggle ensued in the organization of the House, during which the special subjects for which the session had been

30. Yet the campaign of 1852 involved issues of more significance than the personal defeat or triumph of one leader and his faction, the Jackson Resolutions and the Wilmot Proviso and Benton's opposition to the Compromise measures of 1850 still lay at the bottom of the factional war. See the letter of Benton to the editor of the Boonville, (Mo.) Observer, in June, 1852, quoted in Rev. Mo. Politics, 106.

31. Comment of the New Orleans Crescent upon Benton's election to the House, quoted in Jefferson Inquirer, 28 Aug., 1852. See also Rev. Mo. Pol., 106.

called were entirely forgotten ..... And thus the conflict raged, the 'Jackson Resolutions' being the real element of discord; the Benton Democrats avowing the purpose to expunge them from the Journal; the Antis, to keep them there; the Whigs securely poised on the pedestal of 'armed neutrality.'" (32)

This special session of the General Assembly did not adjourn finally until two days before the time fixed by statute for the assembling of the next regular session, which began 27 Dec., 1852, and adjourned 24 Feb., 1853: "a stormy session—storms in both Houses over the Jackson Resolutions, and the question of slavery, secession and disunion." (33) With the close of this session we are brought to the beginning of the memorable campaign of 1853 which marks the culmination of Benton's effort to secure his restoration to the Senate—a campaign deserving of a detailed treatment which can not be given here.

To the story of Colonel Benton's retirement from the Senate, and his struggle for restoration, there attaches a significance and an importance which is wholly distinct from its value as an episode in biography and local history. It constitutes one of the earliest chapters in the genesis of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

The term of David R. Atchison, as Senator from the State of Missouri, would expire March 4th, 1855; Mr. Atchison desired to succeed himself; Colonel Benton determined to contest the seat in the interest of his own restoration. The Legislature upon which would devolve the duty of choosing Atchison's successor would not be elected until August, 1854. Nevertheless, early in 1853, Colonel Benton announced his candidacy, and at once commenced a vigorous campaign to capture the Legislature to be chosen the following year—a campaign distinguished by a degree of bitterness and personal denunciation fully equal to that which characterized the campaigns of 1849 and 1852.

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32. Switzler's Missouri, 276-277. Missouri House Journal, 519.
33. Ibid.

Benton conceived the idea of making political capital for himself by advocating the immediate opening of the Nebraska country to white settlement, leaving the Missouri Compromise inhibition intact; and by also advocating the early construction by the Federal Government of the railroad from the Mississippi river across the State of Missouri, to the Pacific coast, along what, in the discussions of the day, was called the "central" route. The consummation of both these measures would be at once popular with, and pecuniarily profitable to, the people of Missouri. As indispensible to both these projects, Benton ostentatiously championed in 1853 the immediate organization of a territorial government in Nebraska.

By this unexpected maneuver which seriously threatened his supremacy in the western part of the State, Atchison was placed in the dilemma of either being compelled to assume an attitude of opposition to the new measures championed by Benton which were immensely popular and clearly in the interest of large classes within the State, thereby jeopardizing his own popularity and seriously diminishing the chances of preventing Benton's restoration; or else he must accept the humiliating alternative of appearing as the tail to Benton's kite. Early in 1853 it became evident that his only hope lay in appealing to the slaveholding interests of the State by supporting Benton's Nebraska measure in a modified form. Accordingly Atchison declared in favor of the early establishment of a territorial government in Nebraska, but qualified his declaration by refusing to support any measure which prevented slaveholders of Missouri from entering the new Territory with his slave-property. In effect this amounted to a demand for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise restriction, and it was so understood at the time. Atchison also promised to support measures looking to the construction of a railroad from some point in Missouri to the Pacific, but declined to bind himself to any particular route in the absence of completed and detailed surveys of the different routes then under consideration. But the principal issue in 1853 was over the Nebraska territorial problem:

should Nebraska be organized as a Territory under the old Compromise prohibition of slavery, as Benton demanded; or should the question of slavery or no slavery be left for decision in accordance with the principle of "squatter" sovereignty, for which Atchison contended? Over this was waged the last great political battle, having any prospect of success, in Colonel Benton's long and tempestuous career. In the end his championship of Nebraska proved a boomerang, and resulted in the political annihilation of both himself and his most formidable opponent, Atchison.

P. O. RAY.

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION OF MISSOURI IN 1860.

No State in the Union was more violently convulsed in 1860 by the fierce contention of political parties, and bitter factional feuds within the parties, than was Missouri. The defeat of Colonel Benton and Freesoilism in 1856 had inspired the leaders of the old-line Democratic party with confidence that Missouri was securely anchored to the principles of Calhoun, and policies declared by the renowned Jackson Resolutions; and, until the close of 1859, they entertained but little doubt that Southern influence would continue to predominate in State and National legislation.

But within the Democratic party of the State, then largely in the majority, there was a strong conservative element of thoughtful men who foresaw the doom of the institution of slavery and impending peril of the Union, and who, yet loyal to the party, were favorable to the policy of honorable concessions that promised hope of averting, or, at least, postponing for a time, the threatened disruption. The seeds of dissension in the Democratic party planted during the acrimonious discussions of the questions involved in the Kansas-Nebraska measures of 1854, and germinating in the heated contest two years later that relegated Colonel Benton to private life, were, in 1860 blossoming with ominous portents of coming disaster. The two factions were yet under the same banner, not as friends, however, but antagonists held together only by fear of a common enemy.

Such was the status of party unity when Claiborne F. Jackson, chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee, called the first Democratic State convention to order at 11 o'clock a. m., on the 9th day of April, 1860, in the Hall of Representatives at Jefferson City. The Democracy of

every county in the State excepting three was there represented, and a large proportion of the counties were represented by full delegations. The two factions of the party were at once marshaled by their alert leaders for the inevitable contest to gain control of the Convention's organization. There was no skirmishing, or any attempt at dilatory tactics, or strategy; but the gage of battle was offered by one side, and promptly accepted by the other. From the first move it was evident that neither faction was actuated by any spirit of conciliation, or willing to purchase harmony at the price of concession of any material point in controversy.

Immediately upon conclusion of Mr. Jackson's introductory remarks, and his announcement that nominations for temporary chairman of the Convention were in order, James N. Burnes, of Platte county, who was tacitly recognized as the leading exponent of ultra-Southern sentiment, commenced the fray by placing in nomination for that office Judge Rowland, of Macon county, a pronounced opponent of Douglas for the Presidency. This challenge was met without hesitation by Capt. Thomas B. Hudson, of St. Louis, by nominating for the same position Dr. E. D. Bevitt, of St Charles, a conservative politician of the passive, or "anything for peace" order, but yet a reliable supporter of Douglas and his political heresies. Then the earnest contest for supremacy began. The nominations were seconded by several partisan friends of the respective candidates in fiery speeches reviewing and discussing the points of factional variance, each surpassing the other in severity of denunciation, and intensity of feeling, until the wrangling became general, and threatened to extinguish at the initial step of the Convention all hope of harmony and unity of action.

Seeing that impending danger, Gov. Young, of Lafayette county, essayed to pour oil on the surging waves by offering, as a compromise, a motion that Ex-Gov. Sterling Price, one of the most prominent of the conservatives, be chosen by acclamation the temporary presiding officer. Instantly Jim Burnes was on his feet vehemently objecting to Gov. Young's peace offering, and denouncing it as a wily scheme

of the Douglas men to gain control of the convention by false pretenses, and he pressed with renewed vigor the candidacy of Judge Rowland. By that time the adherents of Douglas were convinced they were a hopeless minority, but continued the contest by filibustering tactics until, finally outgeneraled, a ballot was taken resulting in the election of Judge Rowland by a majority admitting of no doubt that his supporters were masters of the situation. In this first engagement the minority was defeated, but not vanquished. For three days it ably and fearlessly contended at all points with the "fire eaters," and in the end gained a practical victory, though it was barren in ultimate results.

After a needed recess the convention was again called to order by Chairman pro. tem. Rowland, and every delegate was promptly in his seat. On a motion offered, authorizing the presiding officer to appoint a committee consisting of one from each Congressional district to select permanent officers of the convention, the storm of the forenoon broke out afresh, and raged for a time with uncontrolable turbulence. But in a lull of the tumult the chair decided the motion to have been carried, and proceeded to announce the committee, placing at its head the leaders of the opposing factions. Hon. John B. Henderson, of Pike, and James N. Burnes, of Platte, followed by Peter Wilkes, Haliburton, Ivory, Childs and English. Mr. Henderson was the only representative of the minority on the Committee, and, though he still courageously continued the fight, he was soon overwhelmed, and the cut-and-dried list of officers previously agreed upon by the majority managers, was reported by Mr. Burnes, as follows: President of the Convention, Col. Robert E. Acock, of Polk county; Vice Presidents, James M. Hughes, of St. Louis, John C. Carter, of Pike, Hancock Jackson, of Randolph, Col. John Dougherty, of De Kalb, Gov. James Young, of Lafayette, John M. Miller, of Green, and Abram Hunter, of Scott; and the Secretaries chosen were Charles L. Rodgers, Warwick Hough and Eugene Longuemere, every one of them on the list, with exception of Gov. Young, unrelenting opponents of Douglas and his doctrines .

The Sixth Congressional district, represented in Congress for more than twenty years by Hon. John S. Phelps, then comprising very nearly all that part of the State south of the Osage and west of the Gasconade, and usually known as "Southwest Missouri," without a bridge spanning any of its numerous streams, without a telegraph line, remote from railroads, and with very limited and precarious navigation of the Osage river, was, from the admission of the State into the Union, a stronghold of the Democracy. And, though invariably loyal to the party, giving to its candidates at every election a practically unanimous vote, its fealty had never been rewarded by bestowal of a higher State office than that of Secretary of State, a position then occupied by Col. Benjamin F. Massey, of Jasper county. The delegates from Southwest Missouri in this Convention were united, and very urgent, in claiming the candidate for Governor as due to their section, and presented as their choice for that high honor Hon. Waldo P. Johnson, of St. Clair county. The selection of Col. Acock, from their region, for President of the Convention, was therefore hailed by the Johnson men as an important advantage gained. And they spared neither time nor labor in their efforts to impress the other delegates with the justice of their claim, and the exalted worth of their candidate.

At 10 o'clock on the next morning the session of the convention was resumed, with Col. Acock in the chair, and proceeded to adopt a basis of representation, and appoint the various committees necessary to perfect its organization. In these matters there were, as usual in such (so-called) deliberative bodies, several conflicting interests involved, instigating a good deal of wasted oratory in heated debates, attended with much noise and confusion. At length the motion of Genl. Monroe Parsons to admit both factions of all divided delegations prevailed, and a semblance of order was restored. The proposition for each district delegation to select one of their number—the nine so chosen to constitute the committee on resolutions, or platform, was carried without serious opposition, and in a short time the chair an-

nounced, in accordance therewith, the following gentlemen as said committee:

First District—Hon. John B. Henderson.
Second District—Hon. Sterling Price.
Third District—Thomas Poole.
Fourth District—James N. Burnes.
Fifth District—M. C. Goodlet.
Sixth District—Dr. John F. Snyder.
Seventh District—Hon. John Hyer.
Eighth District—John H. Martin.
Ninth District—William M. Cooke.

As the last name was called Hon. Austin A. King obtained the floor—for about the twentieth time—on this occasion to propose a special plan of his own for the selection of delegates to represent the Missouri Democracy at the Charleston National Convention, taking but little pains to conceal his extreme eagerness to have himself selected as one of those delegates.

The committee on resolutions immediately retired from the hall to begin earnest work, fully aware of the gravity and difficulties of the task assigned us. To formulate a set of principles acceptable to the Convention, reconciling all the discordant elements there assembled, that at the same time would strengthen the party in its appeal to the people in the approaching campaign, was both the theory and complex problem confronting us. The committee indulged in no preliminary talk, or exchange of social courtesies, but as soon as each member was seated in the committee room active skirmishing began. By agreement with Burnes, Goodlet and Hyer, Dr. Snyder commenced the fray by introducing a set of resolutions he had the evening before written by the request and with the approval of a caucus composed of Col. Massey, Waldo P. Johnson, Col. Acock, Burnes, M. M. Parsons and a few other southern extremists. They were based upon those eternal principles of justice and sound constitutional law—as we then assumed—expressed by the famous "Jackson Resolutions"; and which we honestly be-

lieved reflected the sentiments of a large preponderance of the people of Missouri.

These resolutions were read very impressively and listened to attentively, but were not adopted by acclamation. They met the able, earnest and dignified opposition of our chairman, the gentleman from Pike, Genl. Henderson, who, all through the protracted and acrimonious discussions that followed, never for a moment lost his temper, or was in the least excited or irritated, but conducted his side of the controversy, regardless of abundant provocation, with studied decorum and courtesy. He was radically opposed to the spirit and intent of the Jackson Resolutions, and suggested that the best policy for us to pursue, in view of the excited condition of popular feeling in the State, would be to construct a platform of tolerance and conciliation; for, he thought, the questions relating to the existence or extension of slavery should be eliminated from our State politics and referred—where they properly belonged—to Congress.

James Nelson Burnes, then just beginning public life, in exuberant health and spirits, was a splendid type of perfect manhood. He was mentally brilliant, and physically vigorous and robust. In form an Adonis, compactly and faultlessly built, erect and broad-shouldered, with dark curling hair over a massive forehead, strong, handsome features, sparkling, expressive eyes, and teeth that glistened like a tiger's beneath a lip that curled in haughty defiance in his impetuous and impassioned oratory. He was an eloquent and impressive speaker, always aggressive, impulsive and positive, having much of that force called magnetic, that commanded attention and sometimes carried conviction. He was at that time an ultra uncompromising champion of everything claimed by the South, and extolled the Jackson Resolutions as embodying the true canons of right and justice that underlaid our republican institutions. In the committee room he led the representatives of Missouri fire-eaters, and very ably antagonized Genl. Henderson at every point.

Genl. Price engaged in the debate as a peace-maker, occupying the unsatisfactory position of favoring both sides.

He was eminently conservative; but while all his fervent sympathies were for the South, he would cheerfully have made any reasonable personal sacrifice to preserve harmony in our party, and maintain permanent unity, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of the people not only of Missiouri, but of every section of the Union.

For twenty-six hours, with exception of brief intervals for refreshments and sleep, we continued our discussions and contentions, without much regard for parliamentary rules, until at length the Burnes' majority forced a vote upon each separate resolution, which they adopted, of course, thereby producing a platform differing but little from that first proposed. It was passively accepted by Genl. Price, Mr. Poole and Mr. Martin. Mr. Henderson firmly refused his assent, but unwilling to be instrumental in further adding to the discord already prevailing in the Convention, he declined to offer a protest or minority report, or in any way voice his dissent. He also, as chairman of the committee, declined to report the resolutions to the Convention, a duty Genl. Price was reluctantly persuaded to discharge.

The platform commenced with cordial endorsement of the principles proclaimed by the Democratic National Convention at Cincinnati in 1856; followed by the declaration, "that the Democratic party of Missouri affirms as right these cardinal principles on the subject of slavery in the Territories:

(1) That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the Territories.

(2) That the Territorial Legislature has no power to abolish slavery in any Territory, or to prohibit the introduction of slavery therein; nor any power to exclude slavery therefrom by unfriendly legislation; nor any power to impair or destroy the right of property in any slaves by any legislation whatever.

(3) That the provisions of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service or labor—without the adoption of which the Union could not have been formed—and the laws of 1793 and 1850, which were enacted to se-

cure its execution, and the main features of which being similar, bear the impress of nearly seventy years of sanction by the highest judicial authority, have unquestionable claim to the respect and observance of all who enjoy the benefits of our compact of Union; and the acts of State Legislatures to defeat the purpose, or nullify the requirements of that provision and the laws made in pursuance of it, are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect."

References to the remote contingency of secession, and pledging Missouri—in the spirit of the Jackson Resolutions—to stand by her sister Southern States in such an event, proposed in the committee room, were prudently excluded. Our fifth resolution advocated "the peaceable acquisition of territory" by the purchase of Cuba. The sixth plank endorsed Congressional aid for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. The seventh denounced John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry as "a genuine demonstration of the intent and purpose of the Republican party." In the eighth we "indignantly repelled the stereotyped charge of disunion sentiment so persistently attributed to the Democracy by leaders of the opposition for partisan purposes." The ninth resolution enthusiastically endorsed the administration of Mr. Buchanan; and two or three others declared the Missouri Democracy to favor the prompt payment when due, in coin, of all bonds authorized by the General Assembly, the speedy completion of the Southwest Branch, and North Missouri railroads, and the most rigid economy in public expenditures.

The reading of the resolutions was listened to with eager attention, and they were adopted by the convention with tumultuous demonstrations of approval.

During the protracted deliberations of the committee on resolutions the convention was entertained with continuous oratory in elucidation of "the issues of the day" by the most distinguished Democrats of the State, while, at the same time aspirants for the several public positions, and their friends, were industriously engaged in rallying their forces and

strengthening their lines. The platform disposed of, another era of speech-making began when the chair announced the next business in order was the nomination of candidates for State officers, to be chosen by the vote of the counties upon roll call, commencing with the position of Governor. Immediately Judge De Witt Clinton Ballou, of St. Clair county, arose, and, in a forceful speech, placed in nomination, as a candidate for Governor, Hon. Waldo P. Johnson, of that county; claiming that his selection by the convention for the highest office in the gift of the Missouri people would be "simply an act of justice to that portion of the State always unswervingly loyal to the party, and always ignored in the distribution of its favors." When quiet was partially restored after the prolonged applause that frequently interrupted and followed Judge Ballou's speech, his nomination of Mr. Johnson was seconded by Col. Nat. Claiborne, of Jackson county, a campaign orator without a superior and but few equals in the State. His address on that occasion—eloquent, brilliant and sensational—stirring the multitude to a high pitch of enthusiasm, concluded by imploring the Democrats of Missouri to unite and "stand firm against that hydra-headed amalgamation of Abolitionism, Douglasism, and Black Republicanism now confronting us intent on abrogating the Constitution and establishing an oligarchy upon the ruins of our Democratic institutions."

Other speakers endorsed Judge Ballou's nomination with somewhat similar flights of oratory, and when the last eulogist of Johnson closed, Hon. William H. Buffington and Hon. Monroe M. Parsons, of Cole county, Hon. Ferdinand Kennett, of Washington, Hon. Claiborne F. Jackson, of Saline, and Hon. David R. Atchison, of Clay, were also put in nomination for Governor by devoted friends, and the nomination of each was repeatedly seconded and endorsed with scintillations of rhetorical laudation and telling outbursts of patriotic fervor.

Col. Robert E. Acock, President of the Convention, then considerably passed the meridian of life, was one of the old-time gentlemen of the Calhoun school of politics; a native of

the bluegrass region of Kentucky and of high Virginia decent; a capitalist and owner of several hundred acres of the best land in Polk county, and the largest slave owner in all that part of the State south of the Osage. Fairly well educated, he had polished manners, was dignified, courteous and very hospitable. In stature he was tall and erect, but, in declining years, physically weak and feeble in voice. He had served several terms as member of the Lower House of the Legislature, and was the recognized party leader of his locality, politically and personally bitterly opposed to Col. Benton. (1)

In accepting the chairmanship of the Convention, Col. Acock undertook the task that his strength was totally inadequate to accomplish, for no body of respectable men anywhere could have been more boisterous and refractory than this. By the afternoon of the second day he was completely exhausted, and his voice could not be heard ten feet away. In this exigency, on motion of Col. James M. Hughes, ex-Gov. Sterling Price was elected President pro tem. of the Convention, and at once assumed the position much to Col. Acock's relief. But the stentorian voice and commanding presence of the new presiding officer and his energetic use of the gavel, made little impression on the tumultuous uproar and confusion, subdued only in a measure when balloting was ordered. The first ballot resulted as follows:

Jackson	16,279	Buffington	5,111
Johnson	12,379	Parsons	959
Kennett	11,525	Chenault	299
Atchison	3,207		

1. When "Old Bullion," then a candidate for Governor against Trusten Polk, addressed the voters of Polk county, at Bolivar, on the 7th of July, 1856, in his memorable "appeal to the people," Col. Acock replied to him from the judge's stand in the court house. A few of us, residents of the village, though not in accord with his views, were sitting with Col. Benton in the shade in front of the hotel near by, paying him the attention due his illustrious career, when he asked who that was speaking in the court house, and was told it was Col. Acock. "Ah," said he, with a contemptuous sneer, "I thought from the noise he makes it might be A cock crowing, but it turns out to be only an old hen cackling."

No candidate having received a majoritly of all the votes, another ballot was ordered, whereupon Mr. Seay, of St. Louis, placed in nomination Hon. Isaac H. Sturgeon, of that city. When balloting was finished the votes announced gave

Jackson	17,364	Sturgeon	4,999
Johnson	13,537	Atchison	2,274
Kennett	7,512	Parsons	959
Buffington	6,391		

On the third ballot Jackson's vote was increased to 23,364, and Johnson's to 17,714. It being apparent before the roll call was ended that Mr. Jackson was the choice of the Convention, all his contestants withdrew, and he was declared the nominee for Governor by acclamation.

At that point in the proceedings Governor Price, restoring temporarily the chair to Col. Acock, descended to the floor from the Speaker's seat, and in a neat speech placed Thomas C. Reynolds, of St. Louis, in nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. Several others were also brought forward by their friends for that position, but before the roll call for a ballot was half completed they were all withdrawn, and Mr. Reynolds was declared the nominee.

There was no abatement of the unrest and irritability of the delegates, or of the noise and tulmult of their proceedings on the third day of the Convention. All were tired, many disappointed, and a general disposition was manifested to finish the work and disperse. By that time "the machine" was very apparently in full control with a prearranged program that defied outside interference. Having secured the candidates it wanted for the head of the ticket it supplied the balance without delay or hesitation by renominating, almost altogether, the officials then in place who were elected four years before, as follows: Col. Benjamin F. Massey, for Secretary of State; Alfred W. Morrison, for Treasurer; Wm. F. Moseley, for Auditor; J. Proctor Knott, Attorney General; N. B. Starke, Superintendent of Public Instruction; John F. Houston, Register of Lands; and George W. Hough, Stephen P. Vannoy and Dr. F. L. Davis, for Board of Public Works.

The delegates chosen to represent the Democracy of Missouri at the Charleston national convention were Col. Sam B.

Churchill, John M. Krum, Col. Nat C. Claiborne, Abraham Hunter, James S. Craig, Austin A. King, J. T. Mence, John B. Clark and James M. Hughes.

Throughout all its several sessions the Convention was characterized by jarring and discord and riotous disorder. The great party that for years had absolutely dominated the State was here represented by discordant elements having broadly divergent views that defied reconciliation. The outspoken Free Soilers among the delegates were too few to effect serious disturbance had the rest been united; but their dissension was completely eclipsed by the intense personal antagonism of the Douglas and Anti-Douglas factions. The minority yielded but a sullen enforced acquiescence in the results of their contests, and the victors were not exultant, for they were by no means confident that their triumph was tantamount to ultimate success. The delegations of certain districts were dissatisfied because they had failed to secure the nominations of their local favorites; and several aspirants did not attempt to conceal their disappointment and disgust at having been defeated for the places they wanted by present incumbents and chronic office seekers. Following the sine die adjournment of the Convention on the evening of the 11th of April, a largely attended public meeting, to ratify its action, held in front of the capitol was addressed in strains of stirring eloquence by Burnes, Claiborne, Parsons, and others, and the patriots then dispersed to their several homes.

Missouri as the near neighbor of Kansas was more deeply stirred than many other states of the Union by the fierce ebulition of feeling and excitement consequent upon the startling events springing from repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. The nomination of Lincoln for President at Chicago on May 16th, 1860, gave Douglas preeminence among Democrats of the northern states as the logical, and necessary, candidate of their party to oppose him. But the Democracy of the south, having lost faith in Douglas and his political heresies, demanded a reliable candidate in harmony with their views regarding the institution of slavery and its constitutional guarantees. In the disruption of the old Whig party,

the birth of the new Republican organization, and the hopeless division of the time-honored Democracy, the culmination of irritating national issues long held barely in abeyance, was now imminent and inevitable. Finding it impossible to unite upon either measures or men at the Charleston convention the Democratic party there divided into two factions resulting in the calling of a "national" convention by each, at which Senator Douglas was nominated for the Presidency by one, and General John C. Breckenridge by the other. The Democracy of Missouri, by their platform of principles adopted at the State convention held in April, was committed to the policy advocated by the Breckinridge, or southern, wing of the now dissevered party. Therefore when Jackson and Reynolds, their nominees for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, proclaimed themselves favorable to the election of Douglas and Johnson for President and Vice President, the State Central Committee promptly deposed them, removing their names from the State Democratic ticket, and substituting in their stead Hancock Jackson for Governor, and Monroe M. Parsons for Lieutenant-Governor, and endorsing all the other nominees for state offices, of whose loyalty to the south there was no question or doubt.

Following that act of the Central Committee there appeared on June 27th, in the orthodox Democratic newspapers a call, signed by United States Senators James S. Greene and Trusten Polk, Hon. John S. Phelps, Wm. A. Harris, Peter S. Wilkes, Wm. C. Price, and others, to the Democracy of Missouri to meet in the several counties and select delegates to represent them in a State convention to be held at the State capitol, in September, "to adopt measures which shall insure unity of action." The call further specified, "we also earnestly recommend the united support of the state and county tickets; and that the candidates for the Legislature pledge themselves to abide the action of the majority of their Democratic associates."

The State election occurred about six weeks later, on the 6th of August, and resulted in the triumphant success of the entire ticket nominated by the Democratic State convention in

April. The arbitrary setting aside of Claib Jackson and Reynolds by the State Central Committee was generally ignored by the faithful, who voted for those distinguished statesmen, notwithstanding their taint of Douglasism, because they were the regular nominees of the then (supposedly) united party, and for other reasons of party expediency.

The Democrats opposed to Douglas in all but seven counties of the state sent delegates to the September convention. It was well understood that the purpose of this convention was to effect a radical realignment of the Democratic party of Missouri, and place it in thorough accord with that of the southern states. The program laid down for its guidance was to ratify the nomination of Breckenridge and Lane; revise the State Central Committee and ticket of Presidential electors by eliminating certain weak-kneed members; to reaffirm and emphasize the platform resolutions of the April convention, and to prepare an "Address to the People" explanatory of the proper attitude for Missouri to assume and maintain in the crisis about to confront us. Incidentally, it was intended to strengthen the faith of the wavering, to confirm the confidence of the faithful, and to rebuke the malevolent treachery of the Missouri Republican, and shameless apostasy of Claib Jackson and Tom Reynolds who openly advocated the election of Douglas.

The delegates who had represented the pro-slavery Democracy in the April convention were, with few exceptions, reelected to this assemblage. There were on this occasion no Free Soilers or Squatter-Sovereignty evangelists among us to convert our deliberations into a bedlam; nor hungry office-seekers to appease, but all were united in the earnest endeavor to adjust sundry weighty matters of public policy in accordance with the eternal principles of equity and justice.

Had Col. R. E. Acock been with us, in the Hall of Representatives at Jefferson City, when the convention was called to order, on the 20th day of September, he would doubtless have been chosen its presiding officer by acclamation. But he was at that time in very feeble health, and died in the following winter. Hon. James M. Hughes, the Missouri member

of the Democratic national committee, called the delegates together, who proceeded to organize the convention by electing for its President Hon. John W. Hancock, of Greene county. The Vice Presidents chosen—one from each Congressional district—were W. J. McIlhaney, Dr. Edmonson, John T. Hughes, J. M. Fulkerson, Peter S. Wilkes, Levi Dixon, W. Y. Slack, Vincent W. Marmaduke, and Abraham Hunter. Warwick Hough and Charley Rodgers were again installed as secretaries. As in April, the delegations of each congressional district selected one of their number to constitute the committee on Resolutions, as follows: Dr. J. F. Snyder, chairman; Thomas P. Hoy, Thomas Poole, J. B. Clark, James N. Burnes, John W. Reid, M. M. Parsons, William S. Moseley and Thomas L. Snead. As neither John B. Henderson or Sterling Price were among them to interpose objections, or offer suggestions and amendments, the task of this committee was a mere formality and soon concluded. The set of resolutions the chairman drew from his pocket and read with deliberation, were, with one or two alterations of phraseology, accepted, without discussion, and presented to the convention. Their two preliminary "whereases" recited the failure of the mixed Democracy assembled at Charleston to nominate a candidate for President; and the splendid results of the convention of true Democrats subsequently held at Baltimore; and, therefore, "Resolved, that the Democracy of Missouri still adheres with unfaltering fidelity to the principles of constitutional government that the Democratic party of the nation has always upheld from adoption of the Virginia resolutions of 1798 down to the present time." Then followed declarations regarding the question of slavery in the Territories substantially the same as those adopted by the April State convention, and closing with fervent, unqualified endorsement of Breckenridge and Lane, our standard bearers "who were nominated unanimously by representatives of all the reliably Democratic states of the Union." It is scarcely necessary to add that this report of the committee was adopted by the convention with unanimity, and deafening applause. Reorganization of the State Democratic Central Committee, and of the electoral ticket, was

speedily effected by striking out from both those suspicioned of partiality to Douglas and substituting in their stead well-known stalwart supporters of Breckenridge and the southern cause.

The convention was in session two days with no delegate either tardy or absent, and a constant overflowing attendance of interested spectators including many ladies. Throughout its deliberations intense enthusiasm prevailed, and strict order and decorum were maintained. On the first day stirring addresses were delivered by U. S. Senators Polk and Greene, who clearly and ably recounted the causes that led to the disruption of the Democratic party, and fixing, with stinging censure, the responsibility for its present unfortunate situation upon "that prince of demagogues from Vermont who originated the novel lunacy of Squatter Soveignty." Then Burnes, Claiborne, and other brilliant orators who championed the doctrines laid down in the Jackson Resolutions, were called for, and responded in ringing speeches that fanned the passionate ardor of the cheering multitude to a blaze of excitement, inspiring them with renewed confidence, and strengthening their hope of ultimate success.

After coming to order on the morning of the second day Judge Westley Haliburton, of Sullivan county, offered the following resolution, by instruction of the Democratic convention of his county that had passed it, and had sent him here as a delegate: "Resolved, that the electors of the Democratic party of Missouri are hereby authorized and instructed, if elected next November, to cast the vote of this state for any candidate for the Presidency; provided that by so doing the election of Lincoln can be prevented; that being the first object of every true friend of the Union." In its support the Judge said the Democrats of his county who sent him here as their representative instructed him to employ all honorable means tending to effect the reunion and consolidation of the divided party. "Nine-tenths of them," he said, "will vote for Breckenridge and Lane, but the primal and most important object is the defeat of Lincoln; the second is success of the Democracy throughout the Union; and the third is the success of

of the Democratic national committee, called t[illegible] in the gether, who proceeded to organize the conven[illegible] and for its President Hon. John W. Hancock, o[illegible] ther." The Vice Presidents chosen—one from each [illegible] committee trict—were W. J. McIlhaney, Dr. Ed[illegible] to the Hughes, J. M. Fulkerson, Peter S. Wilkes, [illegible] solution Slack, Vincent W. Marmaduke, and Abra[illegible] or re- wick Hough and Charley Rodgers were a[illegible] cracy in retaries. As in April, the delegations [illegible] with con- district selected one of their number to [illegible] inst pro- tee on Resolutions, as follows: Dr. J. [illegible] e time for Thomas P. Hoy, Thomas Poole, J. B. [illegible] held out the John W. Reid, M. M. Parsons, William [illegible] of Missouri L. Snead. As neither John B. He[illegible] for Brecken- were among them to interpose objec[illegible] greeted his re- and amendments, the task of this c[illegible] in the conven- mality and soon concluded. The s[illegible] man drew from his pocket and re[illegible] Mr. Phipps, said with one or two alterations of phr[illegible] and that inas- discussion, and presented to the [illegible] Soiler as Lincoln, liminary "whereases" recited th[illegible] to the considera- mocracy assembled at Charleston [illegible] spoke in the same President; and the splendid resu[illegible] Mr. Burnes prevailed, Democrats subsequently held at [illegible] signed to the tomb "Resolved, that the Democracy [illegible] of no more. unfaltering fidelity to the prin[illegible] before the con- ment that the Democratic part[illegible] committee of the held from adoption of the Virg[illegible] Hon. R. L. Y. Payton, the present time." Then foll[illegible] quent and very able question of slavery in the Ter[illegible] a speech of matchless those adopted by the April S[illegible] ists of the North for fervent, unqualified endors[illegible] the rights of the patient, our standard bearers "who[illegible] ating, to the satisfaction representatives of all the [illegible] masquerading as a Demo- Union." It is scarcely ne[illegible] enemy of the South the committee was adopte[illegible] facts he so impressively and deafening applause. [illegible] rated, and elaborated, with cratic Central Committe[illegible] ments, in addresses by D.

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the party in Missouri. The success of our principles in the Union is of more importance than success in our State, and the defeat of Lincoln of far greater importance than either."

Mr. Burnes moved to refer the matter to the committee on resolutions. Mr. Phipps moved, as an amendment to the motion of Mr. Burnes, to lay Judge Haliburton's resolution on the table—or under it. "For," said he, "fusion, or reunion, has been offered by the Breckenridge Democracy in New York, and elsewhere, and everywhere rejected with contempt by the Douglasites. We are here to vote against proposed fusion, come from what quarter it may. The time for fusion has passed. All over the Union we have held out the olive branch, but it has been spurned. The vote of Missouri in the electoral college must and will be all cast for Breckenridge and Lane." The burst of cheers that greeted his remarks left no doubt that a sympathetic chord in the convention had been touched.

Genl. Ramsey, of St. Louis, in reply to Mr. Phipps, said we should be courteous to Judge Haliburton, and that inasmuch as Douglas was as pronounced a Free-Soiler as Lincoln, we could safely trust this policy resolution to the consideration of the resolutions committee. Others spoke in the same strain, and eventually the motion of Mr. Burnes prevailed, and it was so referred. There it was consigned to the tomb of the Capulets—so to speak—and heard of no more.

Having then no other special question before the convention resolved itself tacitly into "a committee of the whole on the state of the Union." Hon. R. L. Y. Payton, State Senator from Cass County, an eloquent and very able statesman, opened the symposium with a speech of matchless force fiercely arraigning the Abolitionists of the North for their aggressive encroachments upon the rights of the patient, long-suffering South; and demonstrating, to the satisfaction of all present, that Douglas, though masquerading as a Democrat, was in reality a more dangerous enemy of the South than Lincoln. The sentiments and facts he so impressively presented were then echoed, reiterated, and elaborated, with theatrical and oratorical embellishments, in addresses by D.

H. Donovan, Col. Churchill, and Genl. Ranney, of St. Louis, Peter S. Wilkes, of Green County, Parsons, Buffington,, and others.

By a resolution unanimously adopted the **St. Louis Bulletin.** and **Jefferson City Examiner** were declared "worthy of the support and confidence of all true friends of the Constitution and equality of the States." Mr. Phipps offered a resolution in regard to "the dishonest and unscrupulous course of the **Missouri Republican** published at St. Louis," which elicited some caustic debate and much comment uncomplimentary to that journal, and was finally laid on the table, "as the sheet referred to was not worthy of the consideration of a Democratic convention."

The last and crowning act of this political love feast was a motion offered by Col. Hughes, and carried vociferously, requesting and empowering the chair to appoint a committee of four to draft and publish at an early date an appeal to the Democratic voters of the State; whereupon James M. Hughes and Thomas L. Snead, of St. Louis, Dr. J. F. Snyder of Polk, E. L. Edwards of Cole County, were appointed said committee. And then the Convention adjourned sine die.

Neither Governor-elect C. F. Jackson, or Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds honored the convention on either day of its proceedings with their presence. Sterling Price was there, but only as an interested looker on. After adjournment the special committee last named met at the office of the **Jefferson City Examiner** and prepared the required "Address From the Convention to the People of Missouri," which had, in fact, been amply outlined by two members of the committee before the meeting of the delegates. It was a lengthy document reviewing exhaustively the history of existing political troubles in the State and Nation, with a strong array of convincing arguments to prove that their only, and certain, solution rested in the election of Breckenridge and Lane. It was published in all the newspapers friendly to the cause, and industriously circulated in all the counties. At that time there was every reason to believe that the Breckenridge wing of the party in Missouri was largely in the majority and

would elect its Electoral ticket. The fact that Missouri cast its vote for Douglas—enjoying the distinction of being the only State in the Union that did so—is explainable upon the hypothesis that a large proportion of the Breckenridge men —actuated at the last moment by the spirit of the Haliburton resolution—sacrificed principle to policy and voted for Douglas with the hope thereby of defeating Lincoln.

J. F. SNYDER.

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THE LOCATION OF THE CAPITAL OF MISSOURI.*

In the year 1804 when the province of Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, the northern portion, including the country drained by the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri and their tributaries, was known as Upper Louisiana. The fur trade was the principal business, and the headquarters of the traders was St. Louis. This was also the town where the Commandant or Governor had his headquarters. There was but little civil rule until Missouri Territory was organized in 1812.

In 1804 the Court of Quarter Sessions met at the house of Emile Yosti in St. Louis. (1) In 1812 the Legislature held its first session in the house of Pierre Chouteau, Sr. (2) In December, 1815, the second session met at the house of Madame Dubreuill, on Second street. (3) On October 26, 1818, a special session of the legislature met at E. Maury's Hotel, on Second street. (4) June 12, 1820, the convention to frame a Constitution met at the house of William Bennett, corner of Vine and Third streets, probably in the house later known as the City Hotel. (5) During the session of this convention a resolution was passed that the seat of government remain in St. Louis until October, 1826, and after that it be at some point on the Missouri river within forty miles of the Osage river. (6) The first session of the State legislature met in St. Louis Sep-

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* All of the authorities quoted by Dr. Broadhead are in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri. The files of the Missouri Intelligencer probably do not exist anywhere except in the library of this Society.—Editor.

1. Billon; Annals of St. Louis in its Territorial Days, 9.
2. Billon, 44.
3. Billon, 48.
4. Billon, 51.
5. Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, June 24, 1820.
6. Missouri Intelligencer, July 22, 1820.

tember 20, 1820, at the Missouri Hotel. (7) The building is still standing at Main and Morgan streets. Thus for sixteen years or during its entire territorial existence there was no permanent building for a State capitol.

At the session of the legislature which met in 1820 five Commissioners were appointed to select a permanent seat of government, with power to select four sections of land on the banks of the Missouri river within forty miles of the Osage river.

On October 6th the bill fixing the temporary seat of government was read the third time on its passage, when Mr. Leduc, of St. Louis, moved to amend by inserting St. Louis; ruled out of order. On October 13, Mr. Geyer moved to strike out the Senate amendment, (which was to strike out Potosi and insert Cote Sans Dessein), and insert St. Louis; defeated, yeas 26, noes 29, but motion to strike out Cote Sans Dessein was carried by 24 to 11. St. Charles was then proposed but was voted down, also Franklin, yeas 12, noes 23; Florissant, yeas 7, noes 28.

Mr. Ball then moved to reconsider the vote on St. Charles. The question was put and decided in the negative, yeas 15, noes 20. Mr. Rogers of Cooper moved to insert Boonville; yeas 13, noes 22. Mr. Evans of St. Charles then moved to reconsider the vote taken and carried to strike out Cote Sans Dessein, (place fixed on by the Senate), which was carried in the affirmative. The motion of Mr. Geyer which was to strike out Cote Sans Dessein was withdrawn. The House then concurred in the amendment of the Senate (which was to strike out Potosi and insert Cote Sans Dessein) yeas 18, noes 17. Affirmative: Alcorn, Boone, Ellston, Evans, Geyer, Harris, Johnson, Leduc, Lillard, McFarland, McGirk, Munro, Musick, Rogers, Smiley, Smith, Walton and Wright; negative; Bates, Ball, Devore, English, Hudspeth,, Musick, Murphy, McFerron, Parmer, Rutter, Rolf, Rubottom, Stewart, Strother, Stephenson, Waters and Caldwell, the Speaker. (8)

7. Missouri Intelligencer, Sept. 30, 1820. Switzler's History of Missouri, 212.

8. For the debates and votes, October 6th to 13th, see Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 4, 1820.

On October 14th, the engrossed bill providing for the location of the permanent seat of government of the State of Missouri was read a third time and passed, and the Senate was informed thereof and their concurrence desired thereto. (9)

On October 23, a message from the Senate was received, through Mr. McGirk, stating "That the Senate do insist on the third amendment to the bill entitled 'An act to Locate the permanent Seat of Government of the State of Missouri,' and that they do recede from the fourth amendment, and the bill is herewith sent to the House of Representatives'; whereupon the House 'Resolved, that this House insist on their disagreement to the third amendment of the Senate to the said bill and request a conference on the subject of said disagreement between both houses on said bill,' " and they appointed Messrs. Stewart, Geyer and Parmer a committee for the purpose of such conference on the part of the House, and the Senate was informed thereof, and their concurrence requested to said conference. (10)

On October 24th, the House took up the bill entitled "An Act Fixing the Temporary Seat of Government of the State of Missouri," and on motion of Mr. McGirk, to fill up the blanks with the words "Franklin, in Howard County," the question being put was decided in the negative. Motions were successively made for inserting St. Charles, Boonville, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Herculaneum, and all were decided in the negative. Mr. Parmer then moved to reconsider the motion of Mr. McGirk to fill the blank with Franklin and the motion was carried; yeas 20, noes 19. (11) The legislature passed the bill fixing the temporary seat of government at St. Charles. (12) It adjourned on December 12, 1820, after a session of eighty-four days. St. Charles was agreed upon by a majority of one vote. But for the death of John Ray, of Howard, it might

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9. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 11, 1820.
10. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 18, 1820.
11. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 11, 1820.
12. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 2, 1820.

have been Franklin. The absence also of certain members, by their returning home, affected the result. (13)

The Governor issued a notice dated St. Charles, April 20, 1821, calling the Legislature to assemble on June 4th, at St. Charles. In accordance with said notice the Legislature did convene on the 4th day of June. At this session an act was passed supplementary to an act entitled, "An Act Providing for the Location of the Permanent Seat of Government." The committee of the House, at this session, on permanent seat of government consisted of Rubottom, Biggs and Allen. (14)

On November 5th the legislature met in St. Charles. On November 10th, Mr. Rubottom from the committee on the permanent seat of government, reported that the Commissioners had selected the half of a tract of land at Cote Sans Dessein containing 392 acres which has a front of 192 poles, some of which are above the lower front of the Cote and the remainder, 112 poles, below it with a depth of 114 poles. They have examined the title papers, and it appears that a patent issued to Baptiste Duchouquette and a deed of relinquishment has heretofore been made from the original patentee to Angus L. Laughan, who proposes to make a donation to the State, which donation your Committee advise shall be accepted. (15) On November 30th, the House in committee of the whole, Mr. Waters delivered a lengthy speech in opposition to the report of the committee on permanent seat of government. (16). Up to February, 1822, the consideration of the matter of the permanent seat of government had taken up much time. (17) The committee on the judiciary had the title to the land at Cote Sans Dessein under consideration and had reported on the different claims. The Commissioners recommended for the consideration of the House two places, viz.: Cote Sans Dessein and Howard's Bluff. (18) The latter place was finally selected and there the city of Jefferson was laid out.

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13. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 9, 1820.
14. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 20, 1821.
15. Missouri Intelligencer, Nov. 27, 1821.
16. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 18, 1821.
17. Missouri Intelligencer, Dec. 25, 1821.
18. Missouri Intelligencer, June 11, 1821.

The hills of Jefferson City rise to over 150 feet in height, but are easily climbed by long slopes up the side valleys, making the ascent easy to the hill top. The hill on which the capitol was built is steep and almost inaccessible on the river side but is easily reached by gentle slopes on every other side. Cote Sans Dessein is a long narrow hill about a half a mile or three quarters long and over eighty feet high, but only a few hundred feet wide. The river bluffs may be a mile back from this hill and are separated from Cote Sans Dessein by a flat bottom over which the river may sometimes pour its waters. There were four different tracts of land offered for the State Capital from which the Commissioners made their selection which was approved by the Legislature.

In obedience to provisions of the 14th section of the act to provide for the sale of certain lots and the building of a state house in the City of Jefferson, approved December 19. 1822, an advertisement dated City of Jefferson, January 16, 1823, (19) and signed by Josiah Ramsey, Jr., John C. Gordon and Adam Hope, Trustees, offered two hundred lots for sale on the first Monday of the next May, agreeably to the provisions of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri entitled, "An Act to provide for the Sale of Certain Lots and the Building of a State House in the City of Jefferson," the permanent seat of government of the state. The aforesaid Trustees did advertise said sale of lots; also at the same time to let the building and finishing of a good brick building sixty feet long, forty feet wide well laid and two stories high, three rooms and a passage on each floor, with a fire place well finished. The Trustees caused two hundred lots selected by them to be offered for sale to the highest bidder; Wyncook Warner cried the sale and Jesse F. Royston acted as clerk of the sale. The sale of lots amounted to $6540.75, and on the day of the sale the Trustees let the contract for the building the capitol to Daniel Colgan, Jr., for $24,739. (20)

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19. Missouri Intelligencer, Feb. 25, 1823.

20. Report of the Commissioners to the General Assembly, Nov. 7, 1824. Folio.

The Commissioners in their report to the General Assembly of date of Nov. 7, 1824, stated that the provisions of the act of the legislature providing for the building of a State capitol had been fulfilled, lots had been sold, the building was up and covered in, and that the Trustees had superintended its construction throughout. The Commissioners added certain suggestions as regards improvement of streets and alleys.

The legislature met in St. Charles from June, 1821, to December, 1826. After that it met in Jefferson City. The building still stands where the Legislature held its sessions in St. Charles. It is in a brick row on the east side of Main street between Clay and Madison. The Ruenzi Hotel stood on the corner of Madison and Main. The building next on the south of the Ruenzi Hotel and extending to Clay was the building in which the legislature held its sessions. The building was at other times occupied below by stores and by families upstairs. The Legislature used the upstairs rooms. At one time one of the large rooms upstairs was used for Episcopal Church services. The front of the row is close to the sidewalk. The building is now probably nearly one hundred years old. (21)

GARLAND C. BROADHEAD.

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21. Information as to the St. Charles building from Mr. H. C. Lackland.

DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

Isidor Loeb, Columbia, President.

E. M. Violette, Kirksville, Vice President.

Anna Gilday, Kansas City, Secretary and Treasurer.

THE JOPLIN MEETING.

The History Section of the State Teachers' Association held two sessions during the meeting of the Association at Joplin on Dec. 26-28. The first session, held on the afternoon of the 26th, was far from being what it had been intended to be. Arrangements had been made to have four papers on different subjects in Ancient, Medieval and Modern, English, and American History, and announcements had been made to that effect. But unfortunately for the success of the session three of the four men were unable to attend. The Chairman, fearing the effects of having three of the four papers read by proxies,abandoned the programme for the first session entirely, and notified the fourth man to that effect. At the first session it was necessary to explain the situation to the large crowd that had been attracted by the programme as announced. Opportunity was then given to those who remained after the situation had been explained, to discuss any topics they cared to suggest, and a few minutes were spent in discussing the "Value of the Study of Oriental History." A committee was appointed to consider the advisability of effecting a more definite organization of the history teachers of the state.

At the second session on the afternoon of the 27th, there was a fairly good attendance of history teachers. According

to previous arrangements this session was given over to a round table conference on "Problems in the Teaching of History in High Schools and Academies." Miss Anna Gilday of the Manual Training High School of Kansas City was the leader of the conference and did much by her enthusiasm to make it a success.

The first problem that was considered was "The Use of Illustrative Material." Miss Ella Helm of Webb City had been assigned to lead the discussion of this topic. Instead of reading a paper upon the subject, Miss Helm brought over from Webb City her Senior Class, and had them present several scenes from the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The members of the class impersonated the different members of the Convention and went through the process of organizing the Convention by electing George Washington as President of the Convention and receiving the reports of the Committees on Credentials and on Rules and Regulations. The plans of Randolph of Virginia and of Patterson of New Jersey were given in outline, as were also the views of Madison and Hamilton. The famous speech of Franklin, in which he moved that daily prayers be offered in the Convention, was given verbatim. The whole exercise was a very pleasing and instructive one. It showed that the class had been at work with some of the original sources on the Convention and was able from that work to dramatize certain portions of it very successfully. After this exercise was over Miss Helm explained that she was accustomed to have each of her classes in American History organize itself into a Constitutional Convention and present such scenes as had been presented to the History Section. Others spoke of their efforts at dramatizing various events and epochs in history, and reported the results as well worth their extra trouble. Others spoke of the excellent results obtained from the use of pictures, stereopticon views, and the like in making real the past.

Two other topics were considered. Miss Ora Cupp of Carthage read a paper on "How to Get High School Students to Study", and Superintendent Louis Theilmann of Bonne

Terre read another paper on "Selecting the Essentials." Both were most interesting indeed. Miss Cupp's prescription for her problem was to make definite assignments of work and to let the student know that he was expected to make due effort to prepare the same. She also brought out the fact that the teacher ought to have some personal acquaintance with his students in order to awaken their interest and get them at their work in real earnestness. Superintendent Theilmann emphasized the importance of having the student see for himself what is the essential in any subject in history that is being studied. He was very much opposed to spending too much time on details for fear the student would not be able to grasp the thing that made the subject under consideration of importance. Both papers elicited much enthusiastic discussion in a free and informal way.

Two other papers were to have been read, one on "The Use of Library References", and another on "The Use of Original Sources", but those who were to have read them were not present. There would have been but little time for them however as the other topics had been of such great interest as to consume more time than had been anticipated.

At this session some rather important business was transacted. The Committee that had been appointed at the preceding session reported in favor of organizing a Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government, and recommended that the following persons be elected officers for the ensuing year and be empowered to draft a constitution: Professor Isidor Loeb, President; Professor E. M. Violette, Vice President; Miss Anna Gilday, Secretary and Treasurer. The report was unanimously adopted. This committee has made a beginning towards drafting the Constitution and may be able to finish it in time to get it inserted in this issue of the Review.

The experience of the past two years has shown that the program that deals with the pedagogical side of history teaching should be put in the form of a round table conference. Such a program eliminates the long papers and gives

ample opportunity for free and informal discussion of questions regarding methods of teaching. The interest that was awakened in the program for the first day's session this year, as was indicated by the large attendance, seems to warrant the assertion that it would be advisable to have a part of the program of every meeting of the Society given up to the reading of papers on topics in history. If men and women who have made a specialty of certain fields of history will consent to prepare papers on certain topics within their special fields, and give in them the results of their investigation, they will lend an additional interest to the meetings. It is to be hoped that the failure to carry out this part of the program this time will not influence those who have charge of the programs for future meetings of the Society so that they will not undertake to realize this plan.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

Kirksville, Missouri, Jan. 1, 1908.

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in the Academic Building of the State University at Columbia, December 17, 1907.

Papers were read as follows:

The Bethel and Aurora Community

W. G. Bek, Instructor in the University of Missouri

The State Archives at Jefferson City

Jonas Viles, Professor in the University of Missouri

The Democratic State Convention of 1860 (read by title).

Dr. J. E. Snyder, Ex-President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Rufus King and the Missouri Compromise

F. C. Hockett, Professor in Central College

The Spanish in the Revolutionary War

C. W. Alvord, Professor in the University of Illinois

The Nativity of the Early Settlers of Columbia, Mo.

J. M. Wood

The President of the Society, Dr. Hamline E. Robinson, having died during the year, Dr. Isidor Loeb, the First Vice President occupied the chair.

The following trustees were elected for a term expiring with the annual meeting in 1910:

Father John Rothensteiner, St. Louis.
Dr. John H. Britts, Clinton.
J. West Goodwin, Sedalia.
Chas. M. Harvey, St. Louis.
Dr. Isidor Loeb, Columbia.
W. R. Nelson, Kansas City.
L. A. Martin, Chillicothe.

The Secretary, F. A. Sampson, read his annual report showing that the accession list of the library had increased 1,555, now numbering 14,003. Of pamphlets and of duplicates not appearing in the accession list the increase had been about as in former years. Since the last meeting 159 persons applied for membership, making the total membership at this date 246.

The names of these 159 persons were presented and they were all elected members.

The following persons were elected Corresponding members of the Society:

Judge John F. Philips, Kansas City; Hon. Phil E. Chappell, Kansas City; Judge John F. Parkinson, Kansas City; Judge Walter B. Douglas, St. Louis; Miss May Simonds, St. Louis; Hon. Chas. P. Johnson, St. Louis; Dr. G. C. Broadhead, Columbia; Hon. Louis Houck, Cape Girardeau; Judge John L. Thomas, DeSoto; Judge E. H. Norton, Platte City; Warren Upham, Sec. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.; R. G. Thwaites, Sec. Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.; Geo. W. Martin, Sec. Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Thos. M. Owen, Director Department of History and Archives, Montgomery, Ala.; Prof. C. W. Alvord, Sect. Illinois Historical Library Commission, Springfield, Ill.; Prof. Benj. F. Shambaugh, Sect. State Historical Society of Iowa; and Dr. J. F. Snyder, Ex-Prest. Ill. State Historical Society, Virginia, Ill.

In the meeting of the Executive Committee the following officers were elected:

President, W. O. L. Jewett, of Shelbina.
First Vice President, Dr. Jonas Viles, Columbia.
Second Vice President, Dr. Isidor Loeb, Columbia.
Third Vice President, John W. Million, Mexico.
Fourth Vice President, W. R. Nelson, Kansas City.
Fifth Vice President, W. R. Painter, Carrollton.
Sixth Vice President, Perry S. Rader, Jefferson City.
Treasurer, R. B. Price, Columbia.

NOTES.

The War Department is compiling a complete roster of the Confederate soldiers, and Capt. James W. Allen, Missouri Trust Building, St. Louis, has charge of collecting the data for Missouri. He has already sent to Washington over 3,000 documents from which lists are made. Veterans, Sons of Veterans, and Daughters of the Confederacy are earnestly requested to send documents to Capt. Allen, and all such documents will be returned to the owners.

A late report of the Kentucky State Historical Society shows that it is getting many oil paintings of Governors and other prominent people of the State. It is to be hoped that the friends or relatives of prominent Missourians will give to our Society portraits to be preserved in its collections.

The Daughters of the American Revolution in Kentucky have erected a monument on the site of Fort Boonesboro which was established by Daniel Boone 132 years ago. The Legislature failed in several sessions to pass an appropriation for the purpose, and the ladies of above organization finally took up the matter and accomplished it.

NECROLOGY.

Simmons, Hon. James R., was a member of the 34th General Assembly, 1887, from Texas county. He died at his home in Simmons, Nov. 12, 1907. He was born in Marshall county, Tennessee, January 10, 1848; came to Missouri with his father, Lewis Simmons, when he was seven years old, where his father located on Piney river, and his home ever after was within three miles of that place. His father died in 1864, leaving him the oldest child of the family, and he was able to get only a common school education. He was an active farmer and stock dealer.

He was one of the electors on the National Palmer and

Buckner Democratic ticket, and a State Committeeman from his district. He was a Mason and Odd Fellow and was buried by Cabool Masonic Lodge.

W. H. Adams, the first publisher of a weekly paper and later of the first daily paper in the State of Kansas, died at Springfield, Mo., Dec. 13th, at the age of 84 years.

In September, 1854, he went to Leavenworth, Kansas, taking with him a plant for a newspaper. On arriving there he was unable to secure a building and he set up his plant under an elm tree on the banks of the river at the foot of what was then Front street, and under that tree the first paper published in Kansas, the Kansas Herald, dated September 14, 1854, was issued.

In 1860 Mr. Adams sold his plant, and bought the Union at Atchison, and changed it to a daily upon the day that Fort Sumpter was fired upon. A year later he sold it and started the Daily Inquirer at Leavenworth. His office was afterward sacked by a mob. He was engaged in other papers, and only lately retired from active work.

John Welborn, was born near Aullville, Lafayette county, Missouri, November 20, 1857; was educated in the common schools and Warrensburg Normal School; and admitted to the bar at an early age. He served as recorder of the City of Lexington and afterwards as mayor. Governor Dockery appointed him a curator of the Warrensburg Normal School, and in 1904 he was elected to Congress from the Seventh Congressional District on the Republican ticket, but failed of election two years later. He died at Lexington of paralysis October 27, 1907.

MISSOURI

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GENERAL ETHAN ALLEN HITCHCOCK:—SOME ACCOUNT OF A MISSOURI AUTHOR SOMEWHAT NEGLECTED BUT WHOSE WRITINGS WILL LIVE WHEN MORE POPULAR WRITERS ARE FORGOTTEN. *

By reason of his long continued connection with military affairs in Missouri, his residence and literary activity in our metropolis, St. Louis, his relation with families still prominent in our social, business and political circles, we may justly claim General Hitchcock as a Missourian and a Missouri author, and as such he is a most fitting subject for consideration by this Historical Society.

It has long been a source of surprise to the writer that this eminent man has been permitted to become almost forgotten by this generation. His character, his writings, his public positions, would all seem to have entitled him to great recognition, and yet he and his books are wholly unknown to many otherwise well informed citizens of our state. It is to correct this, to place his work somewhat publicly before our people, and to

*A paper read by H. E. Robinson, President State Historical Society at its annual meeting, Columbia, Mo., December, 1905.

seek to gain for him at least a partial recognition of his talents, that this paper has been prepared.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was the son of Samuel Hitchcock, a Federal Judge of Vermont, who married May 26, 1789, Lucy Caroline, daughter of Ethan Allen of Ticonderoga fame. Their first son was Henry Hitchcock, born in 1792. In 1816 the latter settled near Mobile, Alabama, and became Attornel General of that state, and Justice of the Supreme Court. He died of yellow fever in 1839. He married Miss Ann Erwin, of Nashville, Tennessee, and two of their sons became well known residents of St. Louis. Henry, born July 3, 1829, married in 1857, Miss Mary Collier, of St. Louis, and died there March 18, 1902. And Ethan Allen, born September 19, 1835, minister to Russia and at present Secretary of the Interior.

As these descendants of Ethan Allen, as well as the subject of this sketch, partake more or less of the traits of their eminent ancestor, a slight digression in his favor will doubtless be pardoned.

Perhaps no expression attributed to a public man has ever been more widely known and quoted than the one said to have been used by Ethan Allen in demanding the surrender of Ft. Ticonderoga. When its British commander asked by what authority this was called for, Ethan Allen is said to have replied—

"By authority of Jehovah and the Continental Congress!"

And yet, Prof. Davie Butler, of the Wisconsin State University used to tell with great glee that he had talked with a member of the storming party, who was near Allen when surrender was demanded and that the latter really said—

"Come out of there you damned old rat!"

Thus modern iconoclasm demolishes tradition, and yet it is to be doubted whether the high sounding declaration ascribed to Allen will ever be forgotten.

On the Sunday following his capture of Ticonderoga, Allen attended divine service in the little meeting house at Bennington, Vermont. The clergyman who was as devout as he was loyal, took occasion, during the long prayer that preceded the

sermon, to give all the credit of the exploit to the God of battles. Allen's notion of the share which Providence had in the matter did not exactly agree with his pastor's. He held his peace for some time, but finally, overcome by a passionate impulse, arose in his seat and called out—

"Parson Dewey! Please mention the fact that Ethan Allen was there!"

There were three of the Allens resident in Vermont when the Revolutionary war broke out, Levi, Ira and Ethan. Levi was a Tory, and his lands were confiscated, he always claimed through the machinations of Ira. Miss Abby M. Hemenway, in her Gazetteer of Vermont, preserves the following doggerel, said to have been written by Levi while smarting under this loss.

"THE THREE BROTHERS.

ETHAN.

Old Ethan once said o'er a full bowl of grog,
Though I believe not in Jesus, I hold to a God,
There is also a devil—you will see him one day
In a whirlwind of fire take Levi away.

IRA.

Says Ira to Ethan it plain doth appear
That you are inclined to banter and jeer
I think for myself and I fully declare
Our Levi's too stout for the prince of the air
If ever you see them engaged in affray
'Tis our Levi who'll take the Devil away.

LEVI.

Says Levi your speeches make it perfectly clear
That you both seem inclined to banter and jeer
Though through all the world my name stands enrolled
For tricks, sly and crafty, ingenious and bold

There is one consolation which none can deny
That there's one greater rogue in this world than I.

ETHAN AND IRA.

"Who's that?" (they both cry with equal surprise)

LEVI.

'Tis Ira, 'Tis Ira, I yield him the prize."

Ethan Allen Hitchcock was born at Vergennes, Vermont, May 18, 1798. He was appointed to West Point from Vermont and served there as a cadet from October 11, 1814, to July 17, 1817, when he was graduated as 3rd Lieut. of Artillery. He was made 2nd Lieut. of the 8th Infantry on February 13, 1818, and 1st Lieut. October 31, 1818. He was Adjutant of the Infantry from June 1, 1819, to June 1, 1821, then being made 1st Lieut. of the 1st Infantry.

He was appointed Assistant Instructor of Tactics at West Point, February 1, 1824, which position he filled most acceptably to April 20, 1827. He was promoted to Captain 1st Infantry, December 31, 1824. He served as Commandant of Cadets and Instructor of Infantry Tactics from March 13, 1829, to June 24, 1833. Those who were under him at this time speak in the highest of terms of his ability as an instructor and his capacity for exciting the ambitions of both the careless and the dullard. Francis H. Smith, of Virginia, in his paper, "West Point Fifty Years Ago," says—

"Capt. Hitchcock was a chivalrous officer, a good tactician, a high toned gentleman, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of our class."

Hitchcock served during the Seminole war in Florida, in 1836, and was promoted Major of the 8th Infantry, July 7, 1838. In 1840 he was stationed at Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis, and ever thereafter preserved a warm feeling for Missouri and Missourians. In 1842 he was in Florida again, being promoted Lieut. Col. 3rd Infantry, January 31, 1842. In 1843 and 1844 he was in command at Jefferson Barracks, where

he established evolutions of the line, creating the greatest interest in military exercises and duties, and making this post a school of application for officers in their higher duties.

He served throughout the war with Mexico in 1847-8, being brevetted Colonel, August 20, 1847, for gallantry at Coutreras and Cherubusco, and brevetted Brigadier General September 8, 1847, for gallantry at Malino del Rey. In 1848 he was detailed for some time at Independence, Missouri, mustering out Mexican War volunteers.

On April 15, 1851, he was promoted Colonel of the 2nd Infantry, and on July 9 of the same year he was placed in charge of the Military Division of the Pacific, at San Francisco, which position he filled until May 21, 1854. While occupying this command it was Col. Hitchcock's privilege to render his country an important service, which is thus told by General Cullum in his memoir of Hitchcock, privately printed in 1882:

"While he was in charge of the Military Division of the Pacific, Col. Hitchcock broke up Walker's filibustering expedition, and thus stopped a treasonable effort to seize Sonora and extend slave territory, the scheme of disloyal plotters in California. The plotters of treason who had failed in their design, soon wrecked their vengeance through the then secessionist Secretary of War (Jefferson Davis) by ostracising this loyal soldier from his high command to a nominal one at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. Hitchcock having been threatened with paralysis, asked for a four months leave of absence from General Scott. Secretary Davis had a controversy with General Scott over this, which resulted in Davis ordering Hitchcock to Ft. Pierre. Knowing this to be spite work, Hitchcock asked an extension of his leave of absence, and in event of this being refused, tendered his resignation, expressly stating however, that if his services were deemed indispensable, he, although a decided invalid, would go to Ft. Pierre at all hazards, 'as nothing would be further from his purpose than to jeopardize a reputation which had continued unblemished during a period of nearly forty years in the army.' The Secretary accepted Hitchcock's resignation October 18, 1855, having already refused his exten-

sion of leave of absence. Thus, as stated by General Scott, was a most meritorious officer forced out of service by the Secretary's oppressive orders in denying a simple indulgence at a time when there was no urgent reason for his presence at a remote post."

After his resignation in 1855, Colonel Hitchcock took up his residence in St. Louis, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits, which will be more fully detailed further on.

When the civil war came on, Colonel Hitchcock was of course ardently on the side of the Union. His advice was sought by those in power, and he was the author of the proclamation issued by General William S. Harney in 1861, denouncing the State Military bill, etc.

In 1862 he was called to Washington and appointed Major General of Volunteers on February 10 of that year. He was assigned to special duty under the Secretary of War on March 17, 1862, being a special legal military advisor to President Lincoln, and served in this capacity until October 1, 1867. He was also made Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners, November 15, 1862, serving as such until October 1, 1867. He was twice offered the Governorship of Liberia, which he declined. On October 1, 1867, he was mustered out of the United States service.

General Hitchcock married late in life, and after being mustered out, made his residence at Sparta, Georgia, where he died August 5, 1870, aged 72 years. His remains were taken to West Point and reinterred there December 14, 1871.

General Hitchcock inherited much of the personal appearance and military determination of his grandfather, Ethan Allen, as well as the judicial traits of his father, Samuel Hitchcock.

Perhaps the best characterization of this eminent man is that made by General Cullum in the little work heretofore referred to, and as such it is here presented.

"As a soldier for the Republic for nearly half a century, he was noted as an accomplisehd officer, professionally well-informed, a skillful tactician, able in administration, a rigid

disciplinarian, just as a commander, kind and genial to his comrades, and persistent in usefulness manifested in his high sphere of duty during two great wars. Whatever his position, he conscientiously discharged the functions of his office, whether instructing and governing Cadets at West Point; giving attention to the drill and discipline of his regiment in the barrens of Florida; teaching system and grand tactics at Jefferson Barracks; protecting the wild savage on the frontier; crushing lawlessness in his Pacific command; or winning by zeal and intelligence the confidence of his chiefs, both in Mexico and at the Capital.

"As a scholar, without being classically educated, he became eminent for his erudition, in ancient, mediaeval and modern literature. He reveled in choice libraries, possessed a curious collection of rare volumes and never was satiated with books. Though his mind had a strong legal bias, and exhibited considerable mathematical power, his passionate fondness for metaphysical research and philosophical disquisitions led him into many original and strange investigations. When he had made of them a careful study, his conclusions were clear and precise; but such was the integrity of his mind that he was ever open to conviction, never obstinately dogmatic, and always sought for further light—till his judgment became so fixed that it could not be shaken except by irresistible logic or an overwhelming array of facts. His love of study infused its influence in his whole command, his young officers being as noted for scholarly culture as for soldierly superiority.

"As a writer, his style was remarkable for its clearness, force and precision; his pen adorned all it touched, and against an adversary's sophistry was sharper than a two-edged sword; and his remarkable versatility, eloquence of reason, skill in dialectics, philosophical analysis, subtlety of spiritual perception and vigor of thought challenged our highest admiration.

"He was no sectarian, nor could he be shackled with Procrustean articles of faith. His own guileless life, following the guidance of the Gospel Spirit of Truth, is the best interpreter of his doctrine.

"As a man, his modest impressive manners inspired confidence and respect. In contrast to his almost childlike simplicity and womanly tenderness was a Roman's resolution, and the martyr's devotion to principle; and interwoven with the quick intelligence, mental dignity, and love of the ideal and spiritual pertaining to his student life, were refined tastes, a delicate susceptibility of beauty, and a passionate love for the concord of sweet harmonies, being himself an excellent musician. With these rare traits of character, were combined the finest impulses, and his heart abounding with generous emotion, would, while denying all luxuries to himself, lavishly bestow of his means to the needy, saving by his frugality what was secretly spent for the maintenance of the poor and the education of the young. His sympathy with the interests and regard for the feelings and welfare of those around him were equal to his charity; hence, he was almost idolized by those who were the recipients of his bounty, and knew the purity and beauty of his nature. He was also the center of a wide circle, embracing the good, the cultivated and the eminent, upon whom his death fell with the solemn pathos of a deep calamity."

General Hitchcock wrote many fugitive articles, controversal papers, critical notices, biographical sketches, etc. In 1846 he issued privately a small pamphlet entitled, "The Doctrines of Spinoza and Swedenborg Identified in so far as they claim a Scientific Ground." He points out some very remarkable resemblances between them, quoting largely from both, showing almost an identity in their doctrines and principles, especially of God, of Knowledge and of Salvation. This pamphlet was about all embodied in his "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher" published in 1858 and 1865.

In a private letter to Hitchcock, dated December 25, 1846, Theodore Parker says of this parallel:

"I have long been aware of a certain union in their ideas of God, and of his immanency in matter and spirit; only I thought Spinoza perhaps the more rational of the two in that matter, though I think both make the world a sort of Dutch clock. I never thought the similarity extended as far as you

have shown it does. Henry Heine, the wittiest and wickedest of modern writers, says that many a philosopher when walking in a deep forest of thought, has fancied he was treading new ground, original and all alone. when suddenly he has found himself confronted face to face with the awful features of Benedict Spinoza. I think you have shown that Swedenborg must have had Spinoza upon his mind when he wrote. It is impossible that Emanuel should have omitted to read Benedict for he read everything and reveled in the mystics, old, middle-aged and modern. I like your view of Swedenborg. He was a great man, and is made ridiculous when men worship him and stop not at his limitations. I reverence his genius most profoundly, as I do that of Spinoza, though I worship neither. I hope justice will be done at length to both Spinoza and Swedenborg, and I thank you for writing this little tract to show this agreement in their Scientificals."

"General Hitchcock was on a sick leave of absence in 1849-50 which he spent in Europe and the East, returning home, as General Cullum says, "replete with mystic lore." In July, 1854, he bought in New York his first alchemical book, "Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy," which so fascinated him that he devoted his entire attention to that subject, and his works published thereafter all treat of a spiritualized hermitic philosophy, inculcating the idea that the pursuit of alchemists was not so much that of gold as it was the study of man. His researches soon bore fruit in—

"Remarks upon Alchymists, and the supposed object of their pursuits; showing that the Philosopher's Stone is a mere symbol, signifying something which could not be expressed openly, without incurring the danger of an auto de Fe. By an officer of the United States Army (printed for private circulation.) Carlisle, Penn'a. Printed at the Herald Office, 1855." 8 vo. pp. 40.

The advertisement to the reader is dated Carlisle Barracks, March, 1855, and signed E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. Army.

This little pamphlet had the honor of being reviewed in the Westminster Review for October, 1856. The dissent of this

reviewer from his views caused General Hitchcock to carefully go over his conclusions, and, indirectly at least, induced the further publication of his works, all bearing upon the same theory.

General Cullum, in his little work heretofore quoted, further says of Hitchcock—

"All his life he had been a student, whether reveling in fine libraries at West Point and Washington, or delving among his own choice volumes, ever his companions, whether among the everglades of Florida, or the wilds of the Western frontier. Of books he never had enough, and would spend his last penny to possess them. With Spinoza, Plato and the Neo-Platonists he first became familiar, then was much interested in Swedenborg's works, and Rossetti's Anti-Papal Spirit, and finally went into an elaborate course of reading of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Spenser, etc. In many of these writings he discovered a double sense, one for the general reader, and the other for the members of a society possessed of the key of interpretation, which ramified all over Europe and had an existence as far back at least at A. D. 1000. This society was composed of the most learned and scientific men, whose intelligence was in advance of the world, enabling them to see the errors of the Roman church, which, however, by its power, controlled and restrained these men from the free expression of their opinions. In consequence of this, the literary men of those ages avoided persecution, imprisonment and death, by the use of a controversial language, the exoteric or outward import of which appeared friendly to the party in power, while its esoteric or secret meaning was in direct hostility to the Church, and clearly understood to be so by the initiated. To point out to his friends the extraordinary evidence of this symbolism gave Hitchcock the greaest gratification and many fragments which he then wrote on these curious and interesting discoveries, were subsequently developed in his published writings.

"The result of his studies of the "Problem of Life" is given in his eight published volumes, which, though not much

read by this busy money making world, have made their lodgment in the Ethical mind of the age, and are yet destined to be more fully appreciated by coming philosophical thinkers. "Christ the Spirit" is the most profound of all Hitchcock's writings and we can scarcely think of a theologian, living or dead, who might not with profit sit at the feet of this brave soldier and listen to him as he talks about religion."

The following complete list of General Hitchcock's printed works is the first we have ever seen. All of the mentioned books are in the possession of the writer with the exception of the first one.

I.

The Doctrines of Spinoza and Swedenborg Identified in so far as they claim a Scientific Growth 1846.

The above title is as given by General Cullum. I have never seen the book. Hitchcock refers to it on page 264 of his "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher."

II.

Remarks upon Alchymists, and the supposed object of their pursuits: showing that the Philoso-Stone is a mere Symbol signifying something which could not be expressed openly without incurring the danger of an auto de Fe. By an officer of the United States Army. (Printed for private circulation.) Carlisle, Penn'a. Printed at the Herald Office 1855. 8 vo. pp. 40.

In this book he says that in July, 1854, he bought in New York his first alchemical book "The Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy" whence his studies grew. (This book was by Espagnet.)

There is a copy in the Boston Public Library.

The advertisement to the reader is dated Carlisle Barracks, March, 1855, and signed E. A. Hitchcock, U. S. Army.

III.

Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists. Indicating a method of discovering the true nature of Hermetic Philosophy;

and showing that the search after the Philosopher's Stone had not for its object the Discovery of an agent for the Transmutation of Metals. Being also an attempt to rescue from undeserved approbrium the reputation of a class of Extraordinary Thinkers in Past Ages.

"Man shall not live by bread alone."

Boston: Crosby Nichols and Company, iii Washington Street. 1857. 12 mo. pp 307. 2nd Edition.

IV.

Swedenborg, A Hermetic Philosopher, Being a sequel to Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists showing that Emanuel Swedenborg was a Hermetic Philosopher, and that his writings may be interpreted from the point of view of Hermetic Philosophy. With a chapter comparing Swedenborg and Spinoza. By the author of Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists.

"One truth openeth the way to Another." New York: D. Appleton & Company, 346 and 348 Broadway. 1858. 12 mo. pp 352.

Second Edition. (Same title.)

New York: Published by James Miller, Successor to C. S. Francis, 522 Broadway, 1865. 12 mo. pp 352.

V.

Christ the Spirit. Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity. (Mottoes.) By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists," and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher. St. Louis, Mo. L. Bushnell. For sale by Charles S. Francis and Co., New York, Crosby, Nichols, Lee and Co., Boston, John Pennington and Son, Philadelphia, 1860. 12 mo. pp xvi. 375, reverse blank.

Second Edition Enlarged. (Same title.) New York. For sale by C. S. Francis & Co., New York, Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co., Boston; John Pennington & Son, Philadelphia, 1861.

12 mo. pp XXXIX, reverse blank, 465, reverse blank.

(Part Second.) (Same title.)

1861. pp XXVIII, 452.

Christ the Spirit, Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity. (Mottoes.) By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists," and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher." Part First, Second Edition, enlarged (cut) Third Edition. New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1864.

12 mo. pp XXXIX, reverse blank, 452.

Part Second (same title).

VI.

The Red Book of Appin; A Story of the Middle Ages .With Other Hermetic Stories and Allegorical Fairy Tales. With Interpretations. By the author of "Alchemy and the Alchemists," "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher" and "Christ the Spirit."

New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway, 1863.

16 mo. pp 297. reverse blank. Errata 1 leaf.

Second Edition—The Red Book of Appin, A Story of the Middle Ages. With other Hermetic Stories and Allegorical Tales. A new Edition. Enlarged by A Chapter of the Palmerin of England. With interpretations, and Remarks upon the Arabian Nights Entertainments. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," "Remarks on Spencer's Colin Clouts Come Home Againe," &c. New York. Published by James Miller (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway.

M. D. CCCLXVI. 12 mo. pp 298.

The added matter to this edition begins on page 191.

VII.

Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare; With the Sonnets. Showing that they belong to the Hermetic Class of Writings and explaining their general meaning and purpose. By the Author of "Remarks on Alchemy," "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher," "Christ the Spirit," and "The Red Book of Appin, with Interpretations."

New York: Published by James Miller (successor to C.S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1865. 12 mo.

Second Edition: (Same title and publisher.)

1867. 12 mo. pp XXVI. 356.

VIII.

Spencer's Poem. Entitled Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, Explained; with Remarks upon the Amoretti Sonnets, and also upon a few of the minor poems of other early English Poets. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," to which this volume is designed as a Companion.

New York: Published by James Miller (Successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. M. D. CCCLXV. 12 mo. pp 306.

IX.

Notes on the Vita Nuova and Minor Poems of Dante, together with the New Life, and many of the Poems. By the Author of "Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare," etc.

New York: Published by James Miller (Successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 522 Broadway. 1866.

12 mo. pp 377. reverse blank.

HITCHCOCK'S INTRODUCTION TO ALCHEMY.

In his "Swedenborg A Hermetic Philosopher," Hitchcock gives some interesting details regarding his Alchemical Library, as follows:

"A mere accident—a very casual circumstance—some three or four years ago, (*) threw into my hands a small volume on Alchemy, the preface to which alone satisfied me that there must have been two classes of Alchemists; and the perusal of the book assured me that, while some 'money-loving

(*) NOTE—In 1854, he says in his "Remarks upon Alchymists" he bought in New York his first Alchemical book, "Arcanum, or the Grand Secret of Hermetic Philosophy." This was by Espagnet, much quoted by him.

sots' employed themselves in experiments upon all sorts of metals and other materials in search of gold, there was another class of men in pursuit of the philosopher's stone by very different means:—by devout contemplation upon the nature of God and of man—upon the human soul and its capacity for knowledge, for happiness, and for immortality;—and the object was a discovery of the means for attaining the true end of man; not an ephemeral pleasure, but a permanent beatitude—not a good for a day, but for all time. The impression derived from reading this one book on alchemy induced me to look further, and without much effort I obtained a considerable number of volumes, over three hundred, of a strange character, on the philosopher's stone and hermetic philosophy; some of which are of course worthless, but all of which show, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the philosopher's stone was a mere symbol for human perfection, or for something supposed to be essential to that perfection. There is not a single volume in my possession that could have been written by any one in pursuit of actual gold, though many of the works show that their authors had but very crude opinions as to the real objects of the philosophers."

HITCHCOCK'S ALCHEMICAL COLLECTION.

This library, acquired by General Hitchcock, as he says, "without much effort," less than fifty years ago, would be almost impossible to duplicate at the present time. It was presented by the family to the Mercantile Library of St. Louis, and is preserved in its entirety, one of the most valued possessions of that institution. It is beyond doubt the most complete collection of hermetic books to be found in the United States, and scholars from all over our land come here to consult its literary rarieties. It is eminently fitting that the workshop of a Missouri author has found its final resting place within the walls of such a supereminent Missouri library.

H. E. ROBINSON.

OLD LANDMARKS COMMITTEE—REPORT TO THE OLD SETTLERS' SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1906.

RIVERS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY.

We behold the valleys of Big River, the Meramec, the Joachim, the Plattin, the Little Rock, the Grand Glaze and other streams in our county and we naturally inquire how they were formed and when, and what races of men have lived and hunted and fought and died there. This county constitutes the northeastern spur of the Ozark Mountains, or "Ozark uplift." In the beginning the earth was "without form and void" and "darkness was upon the face of the deep." The whole of the globe was covered by ancient seas. In time the water receded and dry land, or island peaks, appeared. Among the first to appear were some in the vicinity of Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob. The rocks of those island peaks, first appearing above water, contain no fossils, which proves they were formed before there was any living thing on the earth, or at least any living thing having bones or shells. Prof. Dana, whose work on geology is in use in many schools as a text book, places the emergence of these archaic rocks from the water 48,000,000 of years ago. Some scientists, however, make the time much longer. At all events when these peaks first appeared in Southeast Missouri the balance of the United States was almost wholly covered by one vast sea. In process of time some great convulsion of nature lifted the Ozark Mountains out of the water, or at least the greater portion of it. These mountains, or "Ozark uplift," as they are sometimes called, formed an island, at first bounded by the Atlantic ocean shore line on the east, this line running from where the Missouri river is now south to High Ridge; thence to the Mississippi at the mouth of the Glaze; thence south about where the Mississippi is at present to the south line of Cape Girardeau

county, and thence a southwest course to within a few miles of Batesville, Ark. From this Atlantic shore line this island uplift extended west to the eastern borders of Stone, Christian, Greene, St. Clair, Henry, Pettis and Cooper counties. The Pacific ocean bounded this island on the west and arms of the seas bounded it on the north and south along about where the Missouri and White rivers now run. The whole Ozark region was not, at first, lifted above the sea. A spur, still under water, crossed the Mississippi at Grand Tower and extended from thence to Shawneetown on the Ohio. Portions of the uplift, still under water, extended from the west line of the island, as given above, across Southwest Missouri into Southeast Kansas, Northeastern Indian Territory and Northwestern Arkansas. The stratified rocks of the "Ozark uplift" are over 2,000 feet thick and Prof. Dana thinks it reqnired about nineteen million of years to form them. During this period the lead bearing rocks of St. Francois and adjoining counties were laid down. Marine shells are found in the rock formations of this region, but no fossils of fishes are found in them, which proves that this uplift occurred prior to the appearance of fishes or the higher orders of vertebrate animals in the seas. This uplift, at first, was a slightly dome shaped plain, without valleys or ravines. At the time of the uplift the sites of High Ridge, Selma and Rush Tower were on the Atlantic seaboard; the site of St. Louis was several hundred feet under water, twenty miles east of the sea shore and Springfield was under the Pacific twenty miles west of its shore line.

As the rains fell upon the original plain their surplus waters were turned hither and thither by trivial inequalities as they sought their way down its gentle slopes and by the gathering of rills into rivulets, rivulets into brooklets and these into rivers, there developed upon the surface of this uplift a ramification of drainage lines, often very serpentine, which joined each other and when they were once fixed the surplus water of subsequent rains followed them and they became permanent guide ways to carry the waters into the adjacent seas. Thus the valleys of the "Ozark uplift" have been scooped out.

Prof. Dana estimates that this scooping out process in this section has been going on nearly thirty million of years and is still going on. Every rain removes material from the higher to the lower levels. The sources of the rivers are much higher than their mouths and so long as this condition exists the scooping out process will continue. How long it has taken to bring the valleys of the "Ozark uplift" to their present depth and dimensions no one can positively say, but that it has taken a long time to scoop out the valley of Big River, for instance, which is in places many miles from hilltop to hilltop, all will admit, especially when it is known the cutting down has been through solid rock hundreds of feet thick, as is evidenced by the bluffs, that buttress the river in many places. The valleys and rivers of the Ozark mountains are older than the Mississippi or Missouri rivers, for the present beds of those rivers were under the ocean for long ages after the drainage lines of big River, the Plattin, the Joachim and the other streams of Jefferson county and the "Ozark uplift" had been fashioned and fixed.

After the lapse of millions of years the regions round about the "Ozark uplift" were raised above the sea, the Allegheny and Rocky mountains were formed, the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio cut out their channels and the Gulf of Mexico receded from Southeast Missouri to its present limits and our country as we see it today was finished.

It must be noted that along with the upliftings of the land areas of our country, the original Ozark island was also raised many hundred feet higher than it was at the first uplift, and we find the scooping out process has left a main ridge running from Kokomo on the Rocky mountains to Barton county, Mo., dividing the waters of the Missouri from the waters of the Arkansas and thence extending from Barton county through Dade, Greene, Webster, Wright, Texas, Dent, Iron, St. Francois and Jefferson counties, to the Meramec, north of High Ridge, dividing the waters that flow south from those that flow north. One can start at High Ridge and go to the top of the Rocky mountains and not cross a single water

course. This main ridge enters Jefferson county southeast of Valle's mines and runs thence via Vineland tunnel, Hillsboro and High Ridge to the Meramec, dividing the waters of the Joachim, Sandy, Glaze and Saline creeks on the east from the waters of Big River on the west. The highest elevation of this ridge in our county, near Valle's Mines, is 1,000 feet above sea level. Hillsboro is 800 feet and High Ridge 900 feet above the sea.

The buffalo and elk and bear were here first, then came the mound builder and he was followed by the Indian. Whence these races of men came no one knows but that they were here thousands of years before the advent of the white man is evident. The buffalo made the first trails across our hills and along our valleys. The Indian followed the buffalo and the white man followed the Indian, and many of the public roads of today are the old buffalo trails widened and improved. We drive and ride and walk along the same ways the vanished races of men and animals trod thousands of years ago.

But this report is not to deal with highways but with rivers. We have seen how and when the drainage of lines for the rivers of our county were formed. Now let us inquire as to the discovery and naming of our streams.

The most of our rivers were found and named by French explorers and adventurers. These were Catholic and Jesuit priests always accompanied them to carry the gospel of Christ to the savage tenants of the forest.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

De Soto first discovered this stream near Memphis, Tenn., in 1541, and called it "Rio Grande," he being a Spaniard. The other Spanish names for this river are: "Rio Grande Del Espiriter Santo," the Grand River of the Holy Spirit; "Rio De La Palisada" and "Rio Chuchaqua." Chuchaqua is an Indian name. The French Jesuit explorers called it Riviere de St. Louis; Messipi, Messi-sippi, and Marquette gave it the name of "Riviere De La Conception," in fulfillment of a vow

he made to the Virgin Mary if he was successful in his search for the "Great River." La Salle baptized it "Reviere De Colbert." (Colbert was a French statesman of 1682.) The Algonquin names of the river were Missi, great, and seepee, river, great river; Nomasi Lipou or Nomose Lipou, the river of fishes. The latter name is the one under which it was known to the Delaware Indians in their ancient traditions concerning their migrations from the west. It had other Indian names such as Mico, King of Rivers, Okimo, Chitto, Great Water Path (a Choctaw name), Meact Chassipi, Old Father of Rivers. This mighty river, the Father of Waters, leaves our eastern shore for a distance of about twenty miles or more and by it the first white explorers and settlers reached our borders.

THE MERAMEC RIVER.

The name of this river is Indian, and the early French explorers spelled is Merameg. It forms the northern boundary of our county for a distance of several miles.

ISLE AU BOIS.

This is a French name through and through. This is a small stream forming the southeast boundary of this county. The meaning of the Isle du Bois is Isle of the Woods and it no doubt derived its name from a wooded island in the Mississippi opposite its mouth. Marquette probably camped on this island in his descent of the river in 1673 and named it Isle au Bois, and the stream took its name from the island. We call it at this time the "Zile au Boy."

THE GRANDE GLAIZE.

This is another French name and signifies "Grand Red Earth." The clay lands of the hill country around Bulltown, no doubt, were the cause of its name. The word Grande in this case does not mean big or large, but beautiful, magnificent. And in this sense it has the right appellation, for the clay hills of the Glaize can not be exceeded for their surpassing beauty.

CALVEY.

This name is of French origin, but has been changed in its spelling. It was named after Calve, a French explorer. The Americans spell the name Calvey, as it is pronounced by the French.

BIG RIVER.

The history of this stream and its name is interesting and unique. About 1720, Francis Philip Renault, a Frenchman, set out from Ste. Genevieve with a party of adventurers with their Indian guides to explore and locate the silver and lead mines the Indians had told them were located forty or fifty meters to the westward. They took the Osage Indian trail, and when they reached a point where Big River mills of our times are located, they ascended the hills, and beholding for the first time the stream we call Big River, and being entranced by the marvelous beauty of the hills and the stream meandering its way among them, shaded by tall sycamore, walnut and maple trees, exclaimed in the French language, "Grande Riviere." Renault and his companions did not use the word "Grande" in the sense of big or large, but in the sense of beautiful, magnificent, sublime. He and his party crossed this river and passed, in the search for lead unwittingly over the rich lead mines of Bonneterre on to where Potosi stands and beyond and opened a mine bearing Renault's name to this day. He brought to these mines in 1721 some Santo Domingo negro slaves he had bought on his way over from France and some French miners, and lead was mined and smelted, in a very primitive way, and taken to Ste. Genevieve on pack horses. The mines they worked were on the waters of what we call the Mineral Fork. They followed this stream to its mouth in Big River and thence to the Meramec. This stream from the mines to the Meramec was called "Renault's Fork of the Meramec," and the river up from the mouth of the Mineral Fork was called Grande Riviere. As late as 1800 this river. as far down as House's Springs, was

called in official documents Renault's Fork of the Meramec. Soon after this territory came into the possession of the United States, March 10, 1804, this river was known as the Negro Fork of the Meramec. How it got that name we are not advised. It may have been derived in one of two ways. In the first maps of this country under American rule, Renault was spelled as it was pronounced, Renouve. This name being copied by pen and ink, there being no type writers in those days, in the instructions sent out to the surveyors from Washington City could easily have been misunderstood for Negroe. We do not know if this was done, but it might have been and probably was done. The other way in which the name might have been changed from Renault's Fork to Negro Fork is this: About 1804-1810 lead was manufactured at what is now called the boat yard at the mouth of the Mineral Fork and carried down the river by boats to the Mississippi and thence to the markets. On one occasion a negro in the crew in charge of the boats lost his life, which caused the abandonment of that mode of transportation. This incident may have given this stream the name of Negro Fork. In the process of time the prosaic American came along and translated the word grande into big, giving the river the name of Big River, a complete misnomer, for it is in no sense big, but we can affirm without fear of successful contradiction that it is with its winding course, its settings, its castellated, cedar capped bluffs, its timber covered hills, its deep gorges and canons, one of marvelous beauty, grandeur and sublimity unsurpassed anywhere on earth, especially after the autumnal frosts have painted its forests yellow and gold and purple. Even as late as 1865 the statutes defining the boundaries of counties of the state designated this stream Big River in one section and Grand River in another.

But we must close. This report is now too long and we will leave the other streams of the county for future consideration.

JOHN L. THOMAS, Chairman.

THE CONQUEST OF ST. JOSEPH, MICHIGAN, BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1781. *

In the issue of the Madrid Gazette, March 12th, 1782, was published the following paragraph:

"By a letter from the Commandant General of the army of operations at Havana, and Governor of Louisiana, his Majesty has advices that a detachment of sixty-five militia men and sixty Indians of the nations Otaguos, Sotu, and Putuami, under the command of Don Eugenio Purre, a captain of militia, accompanied by Don Carlos Tayon, a sub-lieutenant of militia, by Don Luis Chevalier, a man well versed in the language of the Indians, and by their great chiefs Eleturno and Naquigen, who marched the 2d of January, 1781, from the town of St. Luis of the Illinois, had possessed themselves of the post of St. Joseph, which the English occupied at two hundred and twenty leagues distance from that of the above mentioned St. Luis, having suffered in so extensive a march, and so rigorous a season, the greatest inconveniences from cold and hunger, exposed to continual risks from the country being possessed by savage nations, and having no pass over parts covered with snow, and each one being obliged to carry provisions for his own subsistance, and various merchandizes which were necessary to content, in case of need, the barbarous nations through whom they were obliged to cross. The commander, by seasonable negotiations and precautions, prevented a considerable body of Indians, who were at the devotion of the English, from opposing this expedition; for it would otherwise have been difficult to have accomplished the taking of the said post. They made prisoners of the few English they found in it, the others

* Read before the State Historical Society of Missouri December 17, 1907.

having perhaps retired in consequence of some prior notice. Don Eugenio Purre took possession in the name of the King of that place and its dependencies, and of the river of the Illinois; in consequence whereof the standard of his Majesty was there displayed during the whole time. He took the English one, and delivered it on his arrival at St. Luis to Don Francisco Cruyat, [sic] the commandant of that post.

"The destruction of the magazine of provisions and goods which the English had there (the greater part of which was divided among our Indians and those who lived at St. Joseph, as had been offered them in case they did not oppose our troops) was not the only advantage resulting from the success of this expedition, for thereby it became impossible for the English to execute their plan of attacking the fort of St. Luis of the Illinois; and it also served to intimidate these savage nations, and oblige them to promise to remain neuter, which they do at present." (1)

The account of this expedition as it is narrated in the Madrid Gazette has been followed generally by historians of the West during the Revolutionary days. (2) The customary interpretation of this account may best be exhibited by quoting from a recent work: "Spain had rendered the Americans a great service by enabling Clark to hold what he had already conquered from the British, but she acted with no friendly intent, as her later movements were to show. Though she did not dare, while an ally of France, to attack the territory in Kentucky and Tennessee, where the American settlers were actually in possession, yet she did send an expedition, January, 1781, to capture St. Joseph, a Michigan fort in British hands. The daring exploit was successful, and upon the temporary possession of this single post Spain was suspected of trying to

1. Sparks, Dipl. Correspondence, IV, 425.

2. Windsor, Nar. and Crit. History, VI, 743; Windsor, Westward Movement, 188; McCoy in Mich. Pioneer Collections; XXXV, 549. An exception must be made of Hon. John Moses, who in his History of Illinois, I, 171, points out that the facts do not bear out the Spanish report.

build up a claim to the western territory north as well as south of the Ohio." (3)

Like all recent accounts this interpretation of the Spanish expedition to St. Joseph is based upon an essay by Edward G. Mason in his "Chapters from Illinois History" (4), where he tells the story of this "March of the Spaniards across Illinois" in eighteen pages with no more information on the subject than is afforded by the brief description in the Madrid Gazette; but his description gives evidence of such detailed knowledge that it has carried conviction with it.

Besides the literary importance of this event it acquired a certain diplomatic prominence from the use that the Spanish made of it. Without doubt the demands of diplomacy are responsible for the insertion of this narrative in the Madrid Gazette, for by March 12th European diplomats had become interested in the possible claims to the American soil. When in July, 1782, Mr. Jay met the Spanish Minister, the Count d'Aranda, in conference, the latter claimed for Spain all the eastern bank of the Mississippi on account of the conquest of certain posts on that river and the Illinois made by his nation. It is difficult to judge just how much confidence Spain placed in this conquest of St. Joseph, but she certainly was disposed to make the most of it in her attempt to confine the United States to the land on the Atlantic seaboard. (5)

For more than one reason, therefore, this capture of St. Joseph in the beginning of the year 1781 is of sufficient importance to warrant a new investigation of the sources of our knowledge of the event. It is to be noted that the accounts in the Spanish newspaper and in the histories, which have been based upon this source, make prominent the following points. First, the expedition was sent out by the Spanish Commandant at St. Louis. Second, that the company was composed of Spanish soldiers and Indians. Third, that the commanding officer was a Spaniard. Fourth, that some

3. Van Tyne, American Revolution, in The American Nation, 286.
4. P. 293.
5. Sparks, Dipl. Correspondence, IV, 478, 483, et seq.

Englishmen and property were captured. Lastly, that the country was taken possession of in the name of Spain. Historians have generally added to these their own interpretation, namely, that the Spaniard had planned this expedition solely for the purpose of acquiring a claim to the eastern bank of the Mississippi. Although the information concerning this expedition to St. Joseph is very meager, still there is sufficient warrant to suspect the truth of almost every one of these points.

Before Spain decided to declare war on Great Britain the Virginians under George Rogers Clark had already occupied the Illinois country, and by act of the Virginia Legislature there had been established the County of Illinois. The boundaries of the new county thus formed were doubtless more or less vague; but there is no evidence that the magistrates appointed to govern this territory ever exercised jurisdiction north of the Illinois river or east of Vincennes on the Wabash. (6) During the year, 1780, the county organization was still in existence, and although the greater part of the Virginia troops were withdrawn in the fall from the French villages by Clark, a small garrison was still maintained at Kaskaskia. (7)

The region north of the Illinois river was naturally claimed by both the Americans and the British, but on the whole the British lieutenant governors of Detroit and Michillimackinac regularly exercised the controling power over the Indians as far south as the northern boundaries of the county of Illinois. Within the district of Michillimackinac was the small trading post of St. Joseph, (8) situated on the river of the same name near the present town of Niles. (9) St. Joseph was the site of a Jesuit missionary station as early as 1690, and later a fort was built by the French there, and a garrison was generally maintained for the purpose of pro-

6. Illinois Historical Collections, II, LVII.
7. Ibid, XCV.
8. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 417.
9. Consult maps printed in Mich. Pioneer Collections, XXXV, 550.

tecting the fur trade of the region. When the British first took possession of the post in 1761 it was placed in the charge of an ensign; but S. Joseph was one of those small posts, so disastrous to the British, that fell a prey to Indian treachery in the conspiracy of Pontiac. (10) After the suppression of that Indian revolt this post was never again permanently garrisoned. (11)

There has been preserved in the Haldimand Collection a census of the post of St. Joseph taken in June, 1780. At that time there were in the village fifteen houses occupied by a population of forty-eight. From the names they appear to be all French or half-breeds. The men of the village were mustered in the militia which, as in other French villages, was probably under the command of a captain of the militia, although this may not have been the case until August, 1780, at which time Governor-General Haldimand approved of Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair's proposal to send a captain of militia to St. Joseph and other places. (13)

Near the village of St. Joseph dwelt the Indian tribe of the Potawatomies. The man who exercised the most influence over these Indians was Louis Chevalier of St. Joseph, who was continually suspected of treachery by the various lieutenant governors of the region; but the latter had been obliged to maintain good relations with him because he alone was able to control the Potawatomies. (14). Although the Potawatomie Indians and the post at St. Joseph lay within the district of Michillimackinac, their relation was far closer with Detroit than with the more northern village and it was to the former place that they went most frequently. Therefore, the lieutenant-governor of Detroit was as much interested in the preservation of peace on the St. Joseph river as his colleagues at Michillimackinac. For this reason Lieutenant-Governor De Peyster of Detroit appointed, in 1780, Dagneau de

10. Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac, I, 284.
11. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 439.
13. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 567.
14. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 368, 553, XIII, 53.

Quindre lieutenant and Indian agent in the vicinity of St. Joseph. (15)

The traders of the northwest drew many of their furs from the region between Lakes Huron and Michigan and disposed of a considerable amount of their goods to the Indians. St. Joseph was conveniently situated for this trade. In 1779, the principal traders of the Michillimackinac district united to form a company whose purpose was to supply the garrison and Indians with goods. This company of traders maintained a warehouse at the village of St. Joseph in order to keep the Potawatomie Indians in good humor by offering an opportunity for trade. The representatives of the company at the village were Louis Chevalier and Pierre Hurtebisse. (16)

West of the Mississippi river lay the Spanish possessions. This territory had been ceded to Spain by France in 1762, as compensation for her losses in the Seven Years' War. Besides the villages around the mouth of the Mississippi there were few settlements within the Spanish possessions. The capital of the northern district, known as Illinois, was the village of St. Louis which had been founded about fifteen years before. The population was for the most part French, and the village was ruled by a Spanish commander sent from New Orleans. From the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War the Spanish officials on the Mississippi had shown a friendly disposition to the cause of the colonists. Ammunition was bought in New Orelans, and American traders were harbored and protected in the various French villages of the river. These friendly offices continued to be given until the declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain in 1779 made it possible for the Spanish military men of the Mississippi Valley to take a more active part in the events of the region. At New Orleans was stationed Governor Galvez in command of all the territory west of the Mississippi. He was a young man, full of enthusiasm and eager to win for himself

15. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 409, XIX, 591.
16. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 305, 499.

military renown. As soon as he learned of the declaration of war he realized the danger of his position. At none of the villages had the Spanish stationed a sufficient number of troops to guard against a well-planned invasion by the British. The province was exposed from two directions. East of New Orleans lay the British possessions of West and East Florida, from which an attack could be easily made upon the southern villages, while St. Louis at the north was exposed to an attack from Michillimackinac or Detroit. As a matter of fact a movement from both directions was planned by the British ministry for the Spring of 1780. (17) But before this plan could be put in execution, Governor Galvez, believing that an offensive would be safer than a defensive policy, opened active operations by invading the Floridas. In the fall of 1779 he took the forts at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, and the following spring he captured Mobile and Pensacola. (18)

The British plan as far as it included an expedition from the south up the Mississippi river was thus foiled; but the proposed attack upon St. Louis and the French villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, held by the Virginians, could be still carried out. It is unnecessary for our purpose to enter into the details of the British expedition that was sent out by Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair from Michillimackinac. It arrived before St. Louis and Cahokia on May 26, but the Spanish and Americans had received news of the proposed attack previously and were prepared to give each other mutual aid. On account of the preparations and also through the treachery of some Indian partisans belonging to the British company the undertaking was a complete failure; and after inflicting a slight loss, the British were forced to make a hurried retreat. (19) The consequence, however, of these campaigns in the north and south was to bring Spain into the very midst of western war

17. Can. Archives B, 43, 153.
18. Van Tyne, American Revolution, in The American Nation, 286; Gayarre, History of Louisiana, 121, et seq.
19. Mo. Hist. Society, Collections, II, No. 6.

and intrigue. From this time on it was her policy to maintain her position against the British, and for this purpose she was obliged to keep on good terms with the Americans and to make common cause with them. This she did throughout the summer and fall of 1780. Immediately after the failure of the British attack upon St. Louis, George Rogers Clark sent Colonel Montgomery with a company of Virginians and French to carry the war into the Indian country around Rock river, and in this the Spaniards co-operated. (20) On July 25th, the Spanish commandant sent Gabriel Cerre to Cahokia to request the court of that village to furnish twenty-five men to join a like number from St. Louis on a reconnoitering expedition to the northward. (21)

The failure of the British to surprise St. Louis and the American Villages did not deter them from other attempts. The region around the Illinois river and as far south as Kentucky was harrassed by Indian war parties so that outlying settlements coud not be maintained. Peoria, on the Illinois river, where the Virginians had stationed captain of militia, was abandoned during the summer and the inhabitants sought refuge at Cahokia. (22)

Such was the situation in the West, when the series of events occurred that led to two seizures of St. Joseph, the last of which was to be raised to prominence by the Spanish in the diplomatic game played in Europe. In the summer of 1780 there appeared in the French villages of the county of Illinois a French officer, Augustin Mottin de la Balme, whose avowed purpose was to raise a company of volunteers to attack Detroit, and then to lead them on to Canada. It is probable that his mission was connected with a plan of Washington and the French allies to create a diversion in Canada in order to veil their real purpose of attacking New York. (23) De

20. Illinois Historical Collections, II, 541.
21. Illinois Historical Collection, II, 59 and 61.
22. Illinois Historical Collection, II, XCIII.
23. I have discussed this question fully and quoted all the authorities in the Introduction to Ill. Hist. Collections, II, LXXXIX.

la Balme found that the French people of the villages had been estranged from the American cause by the oppressive and tyrannical acts of the Virginian officers and troops. By carefully separating the cause upheld by Congress from that of a single state, and by laying great stress on the interests of France in his undertaking, he managed to raise a force of about eighty Frenchmen and Indians. While he was thus engaged, he received naturally no support from the Virginia officers. Colonel Montgomery, in command of the Illinois troops at the time , did not seek his acquaintance, nor did he attempt to put an end to his activities. (24) Exactly how the Spanish commandant, Cruzat, received De la Balme is doubtful. The latter was in St. Louis and probably made a formal call. Governor Galvez later commended the commandant for his "prudent conduct" toward the French official. How he showed his prudence is not actually known; but Captain McCarty, a native of Cahokia and officer in the Illinois battalion, reported that, "the Spanish Commander hath given him no Countenance whatever and is Surprised he is Suffered on our Side, he being Authorized by no State or Power in America to do what he does." (25)

De la Balme chose Ouiatanon as the place of rendezvous, and here the little band was assembled on the eighteenth of October, and the white flag of France unfurled. (26) The plan of campaign was to march to the small post at Miami, thence to Detroit, where it was expected that the French inhabitants would join them. After securing Detroit, Sandusky and Michillimackinac were to be overpowered. (27) They reached Miama the latter part of October and were successful in occupying the place. (28) But the Indians soon after assem-

24. McCarty's Journal in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 620.

25. Galvez to Cruzat, Feb. 15, 1781. General Archives of the Indies, Seville; McCarty's Journal, in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 621. Cruzat wrote De la Balme a letter on Sept. 29, Can. Arch. 184-2, 468.

26. Can. Arch. 184-2, 465, et seq.

27. Can. Arch. 184-2, 469, et seq.

28. De la Balme's Journal would indicate that Miami was occupied by October 27, Can. Archives, 184-2, 419 et seq., but Lieutenant Governor De Peyster says that this occurred about November 3d. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 581.

bled and attacked the party, killing thirty, among whom was De la Balme. (29)

While this force was moving on Detroit, a detachment from Cahokia under the command of Jean Baptiste Hamelin was sent against St. Joseph. During the summer that village had been the general assembling place of the Indian war parties, in which the Potawatomies generally participated; but the expedition of the Americans, French, and Spanish under the command of Colonel Montgomery, which Clark had sent, immediately after the British attack on St. Louis on May 26, to make reprisals on the Indian towns to the north and which reached the vicinity of Chicago, made Lieutenant Governor Sinclair fear the loss of St. Joseph. Knowing well the treacherous nature of the principal inhabitant, Louis Chevalier, he determined to secure him, and if we are to believe the testimony of Chevalier himself, to remove all the inhabitants of the village. Sinclair himself writes concerning this: "Wishing to get over the difficulty which I foresaw would arise from the presence of Mr. Ainse, late Interpreter at this Post, I sent him to St. Joseph's to bring in his Uncle, Mr. Chevalier, and the other lawless strange class of People at that Place, for many years settled for the sole purpose of overawing Commerce and making themselves useful for whoever did most for their services."(30) That all the inhabitants were removed, as the witnesses testify, does not appear possible, and, if they were, some must have found their way back again; but the two most important inhabitants were taken away at this critical time, and finally they went to Montreal where they still were in October of the same year. (31)

We have already seen that the company of Michillimackinac merchants had a warehouse at St. Joseph. In the fall of 1780 the company had been dissolved, but, according to the statement of its members, goods to the value of thirty thousand

29. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 581.
30. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 569; but see the testimony of Chevalier and Ainse in Ibid, 435, 439.
31. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 579, 658.

livres were still in the village besides property of private merchants worth thirty-two thousand livers. (32)

St. Joseph was, therefore, in a weakened condition to repel the unexpected attack of the Cahokians and offered the chance of rich booty. In the little band that threatened it there were only sixteen or seventeen men; but these were successful in surprising the village at the time the Potawatomies were absent on their hunt, and took twenty-two prisoners and seized all the property of the merchants. (33) They then began to retreat towards Chicago. Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre, who had been stationed near the village by the lieutenant governor of Detroit, immediately assembled the Indians and pursued them. He overtook the Cahokia party on December 5th at a place called Petite Fort, near Calumet river, and, upon their refusal to surrender, began the attack. Of the Cahokians four were killed, two wounded and seven taken prisoners, the others making good their escape. (34)

We have now reached the time of the famous Spanish capture of St. Joseph. When the men who had escaped from the disaster returned to Cahokia, the excitement of the villagers was intense. The loss of their citizens called for revenge and the hope of recapturing the lost booty added another incentive. The clamor for a new expedition was probably intensified by the voices of the inhabitants of Peoria, led by Jean Baptiste Mailhet, who had been forced to desert their little settlement to seek refuge in Cahokia from the Indian war bands that had been roaming in the region all summer. (35)

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32. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 367.

33. Va. State Papers, I, 465; Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 630, XIX, 591.

34. Account of Lieutenant Governor De Peyster, January 8, 1781, in Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 591. I prefer this account to that related later by Sinclair of Michillimacinac, who gives the glory of this success to one of the merchants, named Campion. Evidently the merchants of Michillimacinac spread this latter report, for they sought compensation for their losses from the government and gave as their reason the brave conduct of the traders at St. Joseph. Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 629, X, 465.

35. Ill. Hist. Collections, II, consult index under Mailhet.

Cahokia was at the time practically an independent village-state. The Virginia troops had been recalled to Kaskaskia in the fall of 1779, and the village was garrisoned only for a short time in the summer of 1780 after Montgomery's expedition to Rock River. (36) In the fall of the year even Kaskaskia was abandoned by the Virginians and a small company of troops under Captain Rogers was left to watch events. Even had there been American troops to call upon, the magistrates of Cahokia were so disgusted by the previous tyranny of Clark's soldiers that they would not have desired American co-operation. This alienation of the Cahokians had been intensified by the words of De la Balme, who had appealed to their manhood as Frenchmen. Also the proposed expedition was one in which the Virginians could hardly be associated, since it was to continue the work of De la Balme whom they had never recognized.

It was not strange that the magistrates of Cahokia appealed to St. Louis for assistance in this time of need, for they had co-operated throughout the summer with the Spaniards in repelling the British. Quickly the company of troops was raised; Cahokia furnished twenty men and St. Louis thirty. To these were added two hundred Indians. They were fortunate in securing the assistance of a man well acquainted with St. Joseph and a friend of the Potawatomie Indians, Louis Chevalier, the son of that Louis Chevalier, whom Lieutenant Governor Sinclair had removed from his home and who was at this time still in Montreal petitioning for redress. (37) The company started on January 2nd, just twenty-eight days after the previous defeat. Through the negotiations of Louis Chevalier with the Indians they had little trouble in surprising the few traders in the village and seizing the plunder, which was

36. Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 541.

37. This identification is probable. Chevalier had a son, Louis or Louison, as he was called—Mich. Pioneer Collections, IX, 354. From the account in the Madrid Gazette it is evident that the Luis Chevalier who guided the expedition was very familiar with the Indians around St. Joseph.

divided among the party and the Indians of the neighborhood. It is evident that they did not wait twenty-four hours, for they were not in the village the day after their attack, when Lieutenant de Quindre appeared and tried without success to arouse the Indians as he had done on the previous occasion.

The sources of information upon which the foregoing account is based are not of such a character as to invalidate completely the narrative printed in the Madrid Gazette, but are certainly sufficient to throw doubt on the truthfulness of the Spanish account. We have the testimony of one unbiased witness to this affair. Captain McCarty was in Cahokia and St. Louis during the fall of the year and probably remained there through the winter. (38) In a letter to Colonel Slaughter on January 27, 1781, after mentioning the defeat of Colonel De la Balme, he continues in an incidental manner, as follows: "There now is a party of 30 Spaniards and 20 Cahokians, and 200 Indians to take revenge on the people of St. Joseph of whom we have no news as yet." (39) Besides McCarty's testimony we have a story which was told in Cahokia and which Governor John Reynolds heard from the lips of one of the survivors of the first expedition against St. Joseph. The story as interpreted by Reynolds is all wrong even to the date, but there are certain significant facts about it. The Spanish cooperation is not mentioned at all, and the expedition was entirely Cahokian, undertaken to revenge the defeat of the party which had made a previous attack on St. Joseph. The leader was Jean Baptiste Mailhet of Peoria. (40) When these bits of information are interpreted in the light of the history of the previous expedition and of conditions existing on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, a consistent story can be made out that is not in accord with the Spanish account.

Some information of value comes to us from Spanish sources. I have before me a letter written by Governor Galvez

38. See his Journal in Ill. Hist. Collections, II, 620, and his letter in Va. State Papers, I, 465.

39. Va. State Papers, I, 465.

40. Paulette Meillet Reynolds calls him. Pioneer History of Illinois, 97.

to Commandant Cruzat of St. Louis on February 15, 1781. It is an answer to the several letters from Cruzat written between September 26th and December 22nd. Galvez takes up the subjects of Cruzat's letters in their chronological order, so that it is possible not only to know the Governor's opinion on the situation in the north but also the subjects concerning which Cruzat had written. The subject of an attack on British territory north of the Illinois river is not mentioned once, but instructions are given to maintain twelve men on the Illinois river. As late as December 22nd, eleven days before the second expedition set out for St. Joseph, Cruzat at St. Louis knew nothing about it, yet we must suppose that those who had escaped capture at the Calumet river on December 5th had reached Cahokia by that time. From the tone of the letter we should judge the Spanish governor had at heart the interests of the Americans and there is nothing to indicate that he had instructions from home to play them false. In fact his only instructions were to keep his expenses down as far as was consistent with maintaining the defense. (41)

In interpreting the facts of this expedition we must have in mind the desires of the Spanish government to gain possession of the eastern bank of the Mississippi river. There was every reason why a marauding expedition in the far west should be magnified into a Spanish military expedition by the time the account of it had reached Madrid. The game of politics demanded it.

If we turn to the English and Indian accounts of the capture of the village, there is nothing to support the theory that it was the result of a dignified military campaign such as the

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41. Galvez to Cruzat, General Archives of the Indies, Seville. Shortly after the defeat of De la Balme the people of Vincennes appealed to Cruzat for assistance, but this he felt obliged to refuse, because he considered the village by right of conquest a dependency of the United States, the allies of Spain. This reply was written December 15, 1780. Of course this answer throws no light on the attitude of Spain toward British territory in the West, but it does prove that Cruzat was acting in good faith toward the Americans in December, 1780. Fac simile from Bancroft Collection, Academy of Pacific Coast History.

Madrid paper would have us believe. The most important testimony is found in a letter of De Peyster's written at Detroit on March 17, 1781. He says: "I was favoured with your Packet of the 16th Feby on the 4th Instant. Tucker is not yet arrived hence the affair in which Mons' du Quindre acquitted himself so well [sic] the enemy returned or rather a fresh party arrived at St. Josephs and carried the Traders and the remainder of their goods off. Mr. Du Quindre arrived there the day after, but could not assemble a sufficient body to pursue them. Forty Indians had got together a few days, but as the Enemy had got too much the start they insisted upon his conducting them to Detroit in order to speak to me." (42)

De Peyster regarded the attack as made by a band of marauders and of little importance, similar in kind to the earlier one executed by the Cahokians, and there is no indication that he looked upon it as a formal military occupation of the country by the Spaniards. Yet he had learned at the Indian conference which he held just previous to the date of this letter, that Spaniards had participated in the expedition. Here the Indians excused their failure to protect the traders in the following words: "Father, I am hired by the Pottewatimies at and near St. Joseph's to acquaint you with the Reasons of having suffered the Enemy to carry off their Traders. They came to St. Joseph's at a time that all the Indians were yet at their hunt, excepting a few young men who were not sufficient to oppose one hundred white People and Eighty Indians led by Seguinack and Nakewine, who deceived them by telling them that it was the Sentiment of the Indians in general to assist the French and Spaniards—had we assembled in time, we would nevertheless have given them such a stroke as we gave those who came to St. Joseph's a few moons before." In his answer De Peyster said: "I have at different times said so much to you on the subject of the Traders and Goods entrusted with you, by the Governor of Michillimackinac, that it is needless to say any more at present—The Spaniards tell you that they are

42. Mich. Pioneer Collections, XIX, 600.

in alliance with the Virginians and the French. They therefore offer you their hands, or threaten to destroy your women and Children—Believe me—they can never destroy them until you are simple enough to shake hands with them." The rest of the speech painted the horrors which should follow Spanish success; but this was said to deter the Indians from forming alliances with the Spaniards, as they had threatened to do, and was not inspired by what had occurred at St. Joseph. That affair seemed so unimportant that De Peyster did not think it worth while to report that Spaniards participated in it. (43)

We have now passed in review all the sources of information that are at present available concerning the seizure of the post at St. Joseph in the year 1781; and, although upon such evidence the narrative in the Madrid Gazette can not be rejected, its grandiloquent language can be considerably discounted. It is quite evident that the expedition was conceived by the Cahokians to revenge the defeat of their friends who had been sent out by De la Balme, and that a second motive was the hope of plundering the property which was known to be unprotected at St. Joseph. It is equally evident that some of the Spanish militia participated in the attack, as they had done on previous occasions. There is no evidence that the taking of St. Joseph was in accordance with instructions from the home government or even from the governor of Louisiana. In fact the contrary is true. We are still uncertain whether the Spanish flag was raised over the village and the territory taken possession of in the name of Spain. Although the English knew nothing of this, yet it may have occurred; but, if it did, the ceremony was very hurried, for the marauders did not linger at the scene of their triumph twenty-four hours. The description of the village is sufficient to show that the British resources were in no ways impaired, nor could this slight success prevent the British making other military operations in the region, as the Spanish narrative would have its readers believe.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

43. Mich. Pioneer Collections, X, 453. Governor Haldimand also held the matter in a like contempt. Can. Arch. 98, 46.

RUFUS KING AND THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE *

The contest over the admission of Missouri to statehood is a focal episode in American history. It has many aspects. Fundamentally it was a contest between two antagonistic social systems which moved westward along parallel lines until both sought to possess the same region west of the Mississippi. We are familiar with the story as part of the history of slavery, and as a sectional clash which foreshadowed the Civil War; but it has interesting minor aspects which have received slight attention. One of these minor phases is the relation of the Missouri question to the contemporary history of political parties.

The period of Monroe's presidency is unique in the history of American parties. With its defeat by the Jeffersonian democracy in 1800, the Federalist party began to decline, and after the War of 1812 did not even put a presidential candidate into the field, thus leaving the Democratic-Republican party without a national competitor for more than a decade. The failure of the Federalist party to recover was due to several causes. When Jefferson's party gained control of the government, it abandoned in a measure its conservative principles and acted upon the more liberal principles of Hamilton; especially, under the strong impulse given to nationalism by the second British war, its measures hardly fell behind those advocated by the Federalists. Thus the ground was in a measure cut from under the latter party. Then the Federalist opposition to the war, and the disaffection manifested in the Hartford Convention, left a stigma upon the party from which it could not free itself. Moreover, upon the restoration of peace in 1815, the United States entered upon a new course of development. Relieved from its entanglement

"This inequality in the apportionment of Representatives

* Read before the State Historical Society, December 17, 1907

in the wars and politics of Europe, which had absorbed its energies and shaped its policies, the nation turned to internal problems. In this new arena the issues were to arise which should make possible a new alignment of parties; but time was required for the realization of differences in sentiment and interest, and for the crystalization of these differences into party programs.

The country therefore presented for a time an appearance of political harmony which gave to the period the name of the "era of good feeling." But the appearance of harmony was deceptive, for the seeds of strife were not wanting. The conditions were those of unstable equilibrium, or rather, a nebulous state out of which were to be evolved new party groupings the form of which could be but dimly foreseen. The Federalists were likely, in any event, to prove a factor in the regrouping whenever it should come about. The disappearance of their central organization did not write finis to Federalist history. In certain localities they retained their supremacy for more than a decade after the war, and this local dominance was reflected by a representation in Congress which wielded an important influence. One of the possibilities, therefore, in the way of party reorganization was a regrouping around the remnants of the Federal party as a nucleus, provided ambitious and skillful leadership were at hand to discover and present to men adequate motives for so grouping themselves.

This was the status of political parties when the Missouri issue arose, and there were features of that agitation which gave it the appearance of a Federalist movement. The first of these features was the prominence of Rufus King among the opponents of the unrestricted admission of Missouri. Notwithstanding the fact that with the obliteration of party lines most of the Federalists had fused with their former opponents, so far as national politics were concerned, they were still looked upon with a degree of suspicion which did not allow men to forget that King had twice been the Federalist candidate for the vice presidency, and had ranked among the

foremost leaders of his party. Any measure championed by him was consequently likely to be closely scrutinized to discover whether it masked any partisan design; and, in fact, his attitude on the Missouri question was interpreted by many in the light of his former political affiliations. This was the more natural when the nature of his arguments is examined. It is plain that the consideration which weighed most with him was not the moral evil of slavery, but the injustice of extending and perpetuating its political power. When the question came before Congress in February, 1819, King delivered the most notable speech made in the Senate in favor of the Tallmadge anti-slavery amendment to the Missouri enabling act. In this he said: "The present House of Representatives consists of one hundred and eighty-one members, which are apportioned among the states in a ratio of one Representative for every thirty-five thousand federal numbers, which are ascertained by adding to the whole number of free persons three-fifths of the slaves. According to the last ceusus, the whole number of slaves within the United States was 1,191,364, which entitled the states possessing the same to twenty representatives and twenty presidential electors more than they would be entitled to were the slaves excluded. By the last census, Virginia contained 582,104 free persons, and 392,518 slaves. In any of the states where slavery is excluded, 582,104 free persons would be entitled to elect only sixteen Representatives, while in Virginia, 582,104 free persons, by the addition of three-fifths of the slaves, became entitled to elect, and do in fact elect, twenty-three Representatives, being seven additional ones on account of her slaves. Thus, while 35,000 free persone are requisite to elect one Representative in a state where slavery is prohibited, 25,559 free persons in Virginia may, and do, elect a Representative—so that five free persons in Virginia have as much power in the choice of Representatives to Congress, and in the appointment of presidential electors, as seven free persons in any of the states in which slavery does not exist.

which would give the South control of the Senate also. Massachusetts therefore proposed the amendment of the constitution so as to establish the rule of representation according to free population. (4) Similar opposition was again manifested in New England in 1812, when Louisiana, the first fruits of the French purchase, was admitted to the Union. King's speech in 1819 sounded like a voice from the tomb of Federalism.

If Federalism was dead, however, its spirit of hostility to the creation of slave states west of the Mississippi seemed to have risen again. Congress adjourned for the summer of 1819 with the fate of Missouri still undecided, but during the recess a whirlwind of anti-Missouri feeling swept over the North. Everywhere mass meetings were held and resolutions passed against the perpetuation of the moral and political evils of slavery by permitting its continued existence in new states. Notable among these meetings were those held at Trenton, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore. A little later the agitation pro and con was taken up by state Legislatures both North and South, and the public excitement was shown by countless newspaper articles and pamphlets, and by the occasional burning of effigies of Congressmen whose votes during the previous session had not pleased constituents. Many of these mass meetings appointed committees of correspondence for the purpose of distributing anti-Missouri literature and organizing the opposition.

King seemed to be the center of all this furor. The resolutions of these mass meetings, the arguments of pamphleteers, the newspaper essays, reiterated the views elaborated in King's speech in the Senate. This speech, which was not reported, King himself wrote out from memory to be printed and circulated by the committees of correspondence appointed by the various mass meetings. After the Boston meeting, Webster

4. McMaster; History of the People of the United States. Vol. III, 42-45.

wrote to King saying that the memorial adopted by the meeting added little to the view taken in his Senate speech. (5) William Tudor declared that it was owing chiefly to King that the nation had been awakened to examine the consequences of the admission of Missouri without restriction on slavery. (6) Of course, King's speech and the resolutions based on it, opposed the unrestricted admission of Missouri on many considerations. Much of King's speech was devoted to proving the constitutional right of Congress to impose conditions upon states at the time of admission to the Union. But there would have been no occasion for imposing conditions upon Missouri had there been no question as to the propriety of extending the institution of slavery. The question of the propriety of extending slavery was itself a dual one, involving both moral and political considerations, but the emphasis on the political phase of the question was so great that even John Quincy Adams recorded in his Diary that King had set on foot a concert of measures which should form the basis for a new alignment of parties on sectional grounds. (7)

If appearances led even Adams, himself once a Federalist, to believe that King aimed at a reorganization of political parties on the basis of the issues involved in the Missouri contest, it is not surprising that such was the southern interpretation of the significance of the whole affair. The South readily admitted the moral evils of slavery, but failed to see how confining it east of the Mississippi could lessen them. Jealousy of the political power of the South was, therefore, the only motive, as it seemed to southern statesmen, which could move any one to oppose the admission of Missouri either with or without slavery, as she herself might choose. Said C. Pinckney, of South Carolina in 1821: "The love of liberty, humanity, or religion" is not the cause of northern opposition to slavery in the new states. "It is the love of

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5. King; Life and Correspondence of Rufus King. Vol. VI, about 240.
6. Ibid, VI, 271-273.
7. J. Q. Adams; Memoirs, IV, 529.

power and the never-ceasing wish to regain the honors and offices of the government, which they know can never be done but by increasing the number of non-slave holding states." (8) In a similar vein Thomas H. Benton, later Senator from Missouri, recorded his conviction that "the real struggle was political, and for the balance of power, as frankly declared by Mr. Rufus King, who disdained dissimulation....It was a federalist movement, accruing to the benefit of that party, and at first was overwhelming, sweeping all the Northern democracy into its current, and giving the supremacy to their adversaries." (9) Quotations might be multiplied to show the conviction, especially in the South, that King aimed to revive the influence of the former Federalist leaders, especially himself. If he could effect the fusion of northern Federalists and Democrats on the basis of common anti-slavery principles, such a sectional party would be strong enough to control the Union or a new northern confederation if it produced secession, and in it the Federalist leaders might hope to wield the dominant influence.

In this view, southern statesmen were doubtless wrong. There is no evidence that King had any ulterior designs; his whole program was probably set forth in his public utterances, and it did not include a reorganization of parties to further personal ambition. So far as the evidence shows, he was not even the organizer of the anti-Missouri forces, as Adams' Diary alleges, however appearances may have pointed to him as the organizer. The copies of his speeches were furnished at the request of others, and his arguments were repeated because they appealed to those who heard them. His convictions were expressed in his correspondence and conversations, and proved contagious. Many were thus led of their own initiative to become local agitators. William Tudor, who got up the Boston meeting, dated his interest in the movement from a conversation at Webster's dinner-table on an occasion when he and King were fellow-guests. The Bos-

8. Quoted in Gordy; History of Political Parties, II, 421.
9. Benton; Thirty Years View, I, 10.

ton meeting, Tudor asserted, was spontaneous, being arranged without any knowledge of similar meetings elsewhere. (10) William King, first Governor of Maine, was Rufus King's brother, and the people of that part of Massachusetts looked to Senator King as their natural champion during the contest over the united Maine-Missouri bills. These facts show King's wide influence, and explain his conspicuousness in the Missouri contest, justifying Tudor's statement that King, chiefly, awakened the nation to the significance of the issue; but they do not warrant Adams' statement that he set on foot a concert of measures which should form the basis for a new alignment of parties on sectional grounds. Evidence to this effect has not yet been produced.

A belief contrary to fact is, however, sometimes as decisive in influencing the acts of men as a belief which agrees with the facts, and there seems to be some reason for thinking that this interpretation of King's course, whether correct or not, was an important and perhaps decisive factor in bringing about the settlement of the Missouri question by the compromise of 1820. This compromise, which admitted Missouri with slavery, but prohibited it in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the Missouri-Arkansas line, was bitterly opposed by Virginia, as well as by a large majority of Congressmen from the free states. President Monroe inclined at first to the Virginia view, and even drafted a veto message to be used in event of the passage of the Missouri enabling act with the compromise amendment. Later he perceived grounds for favoring the compromise, but a mere rumor of his change of opinion reached Virginia and was sufficient to jeopardize his endorsement for re-election. Nevertheless, he sent his son-in-law at Richmond, a Mr. Hay, for publication in the Enquirer, what purported to be an extract from a letter written by a gentleman in Washington to his friend in Richmond, of which, it may be fairly conjectured, he was himself the writer. This letter discussed King's latest speech, and reached the conclusion that if he could not be President of the United States, he would prefer

10. In letter cited above.

to be the first man in a new confederacy including New England and New York. Compromise was recommended for the purpose of defeating these designs. (11)

With the spread of this partisan interpretation of King's conduct there came about also a reaction on the part of some who had at first supported him. This was true of a group of New England Federalists who, learning that the South believed the Missouri movement to be a stratagem of the Federalists, were unwilling to incur the hostility of the South by continuing their support of the policy of restriction. (12)

In both of these ways the belief in King's partisan aims favored the growth of the spirit of compromise. Aside from Virginia, the proposed compromise was generally acceptable to the South, but it was not acceptable to the majority of northern Congressmen, and was finally carried by the action of a few northern members who voted with the South. If it can be shown that these northern members were led to vote for the compromise by their belief that the plan of restriction was a partisan scheme of the Federalists led by King, we shall have an explanation of the passage of the compromise. And this is exactly what Benton would have us believe occurred, for when it was perceived, he writes that the agitation was a Federalist movement, "the Northern democracy became alarmed, and only wanted a turn or abatement in the popular feeling at home, to take the first opportunity to get rid of the question by admitting the State..... This was the decided feeling when I arrived at Washington, and many of the old Northern democracy took early opportunity to declare themselves to me to that effect, and showed that they were ready to vote the admission of the State in any form which would answer the purpose." (13) It may be found, therefore, when the subject is thoroughly investigated, that the passage of the famous compromise by which our commonwealth gained statehood was due to an erroneous belief in the personal ambition of an aged leader of a dead party.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Fayette, Mo., Nov. 4, 1907.

11. Congressional Globe XXX Cong. 2d Sess. app. 63-67.

12. See letter of Gore to King in Life and Correspondence of Rufus King, VI, 259.

CIVIL WAR REMINISCENCES.*

I have been requested by some of the members of the State Historical Society of Missouri to "write up" some of my reminiscences of the Civil War period during the Sixties.

My people have been identified with the history of Missouri for several generations. My maternal ancestor, Ludwell Bacon, came from Albemarle County, Virginia, and settled in St. Louis County in 1804, where my mother was born in 1814. My paternal ancestor, Warner Lewis, who was a first cousin of Captain Merriwether Lewis, the explorer, came from Gouchland County, Virginia, and settled in St. Louis County in 1819.

My father, Robert Lewis, married my mother, Lucy B. Bacon, in St. Louis County, in 1829, where they lived until 1855, when they moved to Cass County, Missouri, with their children, slaves and other property. I preceded my parents the fall before, for the purpose of preparing houses, and arranging affairs before their arrival.

Politically, my father was an old line Whig, and believed in a protective tariff system, as a permanent policy of the National Government. I imbibed his political views, to which we both steadfastly adhered until the Civil War began.

I was born in 1834, finished my education at the State University of Missouri in 1854, married Sarah M. Griffith, a daughter of a Cass County pioneer, in 1855, and was engaged in farming, stock raising and merchandising when the war began. In those days Cass County was called a border county, and so of all other counties in Missouri similarily situated, because of their proximity to Kansas Territory.

This section of Missouri and the contiguous territory of Kansas was literally dedicated to war. There were more pitched battles fought here, more lives lost, greater desolation

*Read before the State Historical Society, December 17, 1907.

wrought, and more destruction of property, than in all the balance of the State beside.

This border land extending from the Missouri River on the north to the north boundary line of the State of Arkansas on the south, was the nursery of the war of the rebellion. Here the first conflict of arms began, and it was these counties that maintained the last military organization under the Stars and Bars, commanded by Major General Joe O. Shelby, who planted the banner of the "Lost Cause" on the western bank of the Rio Grande in old Mexico, on foreign soil, rather than surrender. Here the last general engagement of the war was fought west of the Mississippi, on the Price raid in the fall of 1864, and which was a continuous battle field from Independence to Neosho. Here whole counties were depopulated, and the citizens driven from their homes, under military orders, as shown by the following order issued by Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, Jr.:

H'dq'res District of the Border,
Kansas City, Mo., August 25, 1863.

"General" Orders.

No. 11.

All persons living in Jackson, Cass and Bates Counties, Missouri, and in the part of Vernon included in this district, except those living within one mile of the limits of Independence, Hickmann Mills, Pleasant Hill and Harrisonville, and except those in that part of Kaw Township, Jackson County, north of Brush Creek and west of the Big Blue, are hereby ordered to remove from their present places of residence within 15 days from the date hereof. Those who, within that time, establish their loyalty to the satisfaction of the commanding officer of the Military Station nearest their present places of residence, will receive from him a certificate stating the fact of their loyalty, and the names of the witnesses by whom it can be shown. All who receive such certificates will be permitted to remove to any military station in this district, or to any part of the State of Kansas, except the counties in the eastern bor-

der of the State. All others shall remove out of the district. Officers commanding companies and detachments serving in the counties named, will see that this paragraph is promptly obeyed."

II. "All grain and hay in the field, or under shelter in the district from which the inhabitants are required to remove, within reach of military stations, after the 9th day of September next, will be taken to such stations and turned over to the proper officers there, and report of the amount so turned over made to district headquarters, specifying the name of the loyal owners and the amount of such produce taken from them. All grain and hay found in such district after the 9th day of September next not convenient to such Stations will be destroyed."

X X X

By order of Brigadier Ewing.

H. Hannahs,

"Acting Assistant Adjutant General."

Since all the male inhabitants of 12 years of age and over, in this district, had taken shelter in either the northern or southern army, and since the women and children had been stripped of their work animals, and had no means of transportation, public or private, and were now made homeless under this order, their condition was rendered most pitiable, and their suffering was beyond measure.

Here fire and sword did their most complete work. Here the foundation of prison houses were torn asunder and the lives of female inmates, held as hostages of war, were crushed beneath the ruins. Here met the Kansas Jayhawker and Missouri Bushwhacker in mortal combat, both fighting under the black flag. From Lexington, Missouri, to Lawrence, Kansas, and from Independence to Neosho, Mo., was enacted more tragedy than in any territory of the same dimensions elsewhere in the States. Here war was hell. This goodly land, so productive in mineral and agricultural wealth, and so beautiful to look upon, was left a dreary waste and howling wilderness by the ravages of cruel, relentless war.

In these piping times of domestic peace and fraternal good

will, when the nation's swords have been beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, those who have since come upon life's busy stage are amazed at this wonderful hostility that was wrought up between the people of the States, north and south.

In order to understand what actuated them to such apparently reckless sacrifice of life and property, and to properly understand and judge of their conduct, we must transpose ourselves to the time and place in which they lived, and ask ourselves what would we have done under like conditions.

Now, speaking especially for the people of Southwest Missouri, and which in a measure applies to the people of the entire state, at the commencement of the war, I will say of them that they were a cultivated, thrifty and prosperous people. They were the descendants of those pioneer settlers who crossed the Mississippi River in the beginning of the last century, and with ax and rifle penetrated the forests and prairies, and drove out the buffalo and Indian, and built for themselves homes beside the health giving water brooks, surrounded by the benediction of Nature and of Nature's God.

They moulded and fashioned the organic law of the State and laid the foundation for the splendid civil, religious and educational citizenship and civilization that we now enjoy. They reasonably expected that the general Government would protect them in all their domestic institutions that they had established with its sanction, including slavery.

In 1854 the Congress of the United States passed an Act known as the "Squatter Sovereignty Act," whereby it was left to the people of the Territories to determine by election whether they would enter the Union with or without slavery. This was practically a repeal of the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, when this State was admitted into the Union, and reopened the slavery question, which had been considered as settled for nearly half a century.

About this time Kansas was making ready to apply for admission into the Union, and the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery party both undertook to colonize that territory with

voters friendly to their respective views. The Eastern Emigrant Aid Societies sent on large numbers of lawless men with Sharp's rifles, to terrorize the pro-slavery men and make Kansas a free state. A civil war ensued and many of the people of the border counties of Missouri, who were in sympathy with the pro-slavery party, rushed to their assistance. I remember that in 1857 about 3,000 Missourians assembled at Westport and elected John W. Reid, of Independence, a Mexican War veteran, Commander, and with rifles and cannon took up the line of march for Topeka. They were met by Governor Walker, and after a parley of some length, they returned to Missouri and were disbanded, with the loss of only one man.

In the meantime, several Constitutional Conventions were held in the Territory to determine the question of slavery. One at Topeka, Oct. 23, 1855, which excluded slavery. It was afterwards introduced in Congress, passed the House and was defeated in the Senate. On September 5th, 1857, another Constitutional Convention was held at Lecompton, and the convention adopted a constitution with slavery. This constitution was ratified by a large majority of the voters, but the anti-slavery party refused to participate in the election. On Dec. 6th, 1858, President Buchanan in his message to Congress recommended that Kansas be admitted as a State into the Union, under the latter constitution, stating therein that the election had been a peaceable one and conducted according to law; and that whilst the anti-slavery party had not participated in the election, they had no right to complain. In the same message he denounced the Topeka Convention as revolutionary.

Finally, on Oct. 19, 1859, still another Constitutional Convention was held at Wyandotte, which adopted a constitution excluding slavery; it was ratified by a vote of the people, but nothing further was done until Jan. 29th, 1861, when Kansas was admitted as a free state.

During these five or six years of contention in Congress and Kansas, great political excitement prevailed throughout the country. A reign of terror existed upon the western border of Missouri. Lawless bands of roving ruffians under com-

mand of Brown, Jennison and Montgomery, made frequent forays upon the inoffending people on the Missouri side; killing people, kidnapping slaves, robbing the citizens, burning houses, and carrying away their property; so that the Governor of Missouri was compelled to station a large force of militia on the border, under the command of Generals Bowen and Frost, in order to protect the people of our state. A few illustrations will serve to show the terrible condition of affairs, then and there existing:

Old man Doyle, who lived in the northwest corner of Vernon County, and his entire family of four sons were killed, and his personal property was carried away by the marauders.

Old man Jerry Jackson lived in the northwestern part of Bates County. In 1860 a band of these outlaws planned a raid upon him with intent to kill and murder, and to rob him of his property. The old man got word of their intended descent upon him. He moved out his family and stock and prepared to receive his unwelcome guests in western fashion. Sure enough, they came. The son did the loading and Uncle Jerry the shooting, until eleven of the attacking party were dead in their tracks. Seeing that they could not dislodge them in any other way, they set fire to a wagon load of hay and backed it against the house. In the confusion and darkness of the night the old man and boy both made their escape. Uncle Jerry afterwards served in the State Guard service, and finally moved to Texas. The house was destroyed, but the marauders paid dearly for their pains.

Again, George Walker lived on the Big Blue in Jackson County; he was a slave owner, a prosperous farmer and a reputable citizen. One of those lawless bands to which the famous Guerrella Chief Quantrell, then belonged, planned a raid upon him with felonious intent to kill, murder, steal and carry away his personal property. Quantrell deserted the band and came and reported the matter to Mr. Walker. The story, at first, appeared incredible. Quantrell proposed to remain at Walker's, which he was allowed to do. Sure enough, they came in the night time, with arms and wagons, prepared to carry out

their purpose. In the meantime Quantrell gathered in some of the neighbors, and arming for the conflict, a battle ensued. Several of the invaders were killed, with the loss of their wagons and teams. Like instances of daily occurrence were continually going on in these border counties.

On account of the propensity of Kansans to appropriate their neighbor's property, on the Missouri side, they were called Jayhawkers—while the Missourians were called Bushwhackers, to indicate their manner of fighting. This designation they retained during the entire war.

Incensed by these lawless acts of aggression, by the anti-slavery party, and to protect the lives and property of the people of the State, the General Assembly of Missouri, at its session in 1861, passed a law dividing the State into eight Military Districts, with a Brigadier General over each, and a Major General over all, to be known as the Missouri State Guard. General James S. Raines was appointed Brigadier General over the 8th district, which included the counties above referred to. General Sterling Price was appointed Major General over the entire state.

At the first call for volunteers the men in these border counties flew to arms as one man. To show the unanimity of sentiment, it may be stated as a fact that Vernon County had more men enlisted in the State Service during the first six months, than there were voters at the last previous election. These people were not all rebels, nor disunionists, but believed that they were serving their country best by obeying the lawfully constituted authorities of the State, in repelling invasion and in protecting their homes and firesides. Soon after this a body of State troops rendezvoued at Camp Jackson were attacked by Federal troops under command of General Lyon and made prisoners of war. Another command was sent to the State Capitol to arrest the civil authorities of the State, and to capture or disperse the state troops. General Price retired to Southwestern Missouri with the State Guard troops, and the civil authorities went with him to avoid arrest. In view of the fact that in this the Federal Government was lending aid

and comfort to the enemies of the State, as shown above, it was not possible that an honorable, self-respecting and courageous people, would tamely submit to its authority.

The Constitutional Convention that was then in session to determine the relation of the State to the Federal Government, voted down an ordinance of secession; so that the action of Federal authorities at this time toward the State seems to be without excuse or justification.

My service during the war in this border country gave me the opportunity of knowing as much of the campaign and the men engaged in it, perhaps, as any other person. I participated in all the important raids that were made in that part of the state during the war; viz.: The Lexington raid in 1861; the Lone Jack raid in 1862; the Shelby raid in 1863; and the Price raid in 1864. I was paymaster of Raines' division in the State Guard Service, and in this way made the acquaintance of nearly all the officers along the border in the beginning of the war. I served from the beginning of the war till the close, and then retired into Old Mexico with General Shelby, to whose command I then belonged.

In May, 1863, an expedition was organized on the western border of Jasper County, Missouri, under the command of Colonel Charles Harrison, who had been commissioned by Major General Holmes to proceed to New Mexico and Colorado for the purpose of recruiting into the Confederate service the men who had fled there from Missouri and other states, to avoid being drafted into the Federal Army; of whom there was then supposed to be a large number, anxious to make their way into the Southern Army. The plan was to organize them into companies, regiments and brigades, and as soon as this was done to drop down into Western Texas and then unite with the main army. The plan appeared feasible, though very hazardous; so much so, that many of those who had at first volunteered, finally refused to go.

Colonel Harrison appeared to be the man above all others to lead such an undertaking, since his entire life had been spent upon the western plains, and he had been the protege of the

celebrated Indian fighter, General Kit Carson. He was tall, athletic, and almost as brown as an Indian, of whose blood he was said to have a mixture. He knew no fear and he staggered at no hardships. On the early morning of the 22nd day of May, 1863, the mules were packed with rations for the men. The party consisted of eighteen men, rank and file. The starting point was Center Creek where it crosses the line of the State in Jasper County. The route pursued was westward over the trackless prairie in the Indian Territory about 15 or 20 miles south of and parallel with the Kansas State line. There was no human habitation to be seen and no living person discoverable, and no incident worthy of note until the afternoon of the second day. After crossing a ravine fringed with brush and small timber, we halted on an eminence just beyond for rest and rations; our animals were tethered to grass or left to roam at will, whilst we were resting under the shade of some scattering oaks, inapprehensive of danger.

We had begun saddling up to renew our journey when we discovered a body of men coming on our trail at full gallop. By the time we were all mounted they were in hailing distance, and proved to be a body of about 150 Indian warriors. To avoid a conflict we moved off at a brisk walk, and they followed us. We had not gone far until some of them fired and killed one of our men, Douglas Huffman; we then charged them vigorously and drove them back for some distance. My horse was killed in this charge and I was severely wounded in the shoulder with an arrow. I mounted the mule from which Huffman was killed. The Indians kept gathering strength from others coming up. We had a running fight for eight or ten miles, frequently hurling back their advance on to the main body or with loss. Our horses were becoming exhausted, so we concluded to halt in the bed of a small stream that lay across our path, to give them rest. The Indians here got all around us at gunshot range, and kept up an incessant fire. We had only side arms and pistols and were out of range. Here Frank Roberts was shot through the head, and fell from his horse. I immediately dismounted the mule and mounted

Roberts' horse. This incident was the saving of my life. Colonel B. H. Woodson, of Springfield, Mo., preferred this mule to his horse, and mounted it. When our horess were rested we made a dash for liberty. On ascending the bank of the stream the saddle of Captain Park McLure, of St. Louis, slipped back and turned and he fell into the hands of the savages. Harrison was shot in the face and was captured. Rule Pickeral had his arm broken.

We broke the cordon as we dashed out, but from now on the race was even and our ranks much reduced. It was about two miles to the Verdigris River. When we were in about two hundred yards of the timber Woodson was caught. I tried to get the men to halt and give them a fire so as to let him get into the timber, but did not succeed. We could not cross the stream with our horses, owing to the steepness of the banks on both sides. I went down to get a drink and heard the Indians coming to the bank below us. John Rafferty stood on the bank above me, and I said to him: "Follow me." He obeyed. We made our way up the stream under cover of the bank for about half a mile, and noticing some fishing poles and some fresh tracks, and hearing the barking of dogs on the other side of the stream, we concluded it safest to secret ourselves in some dense bushes near the prairie until the darkness of the night came on.

We had just escaped a cruel death from savages. We were without food and about eighty miles from a place where relief could be obtained. We were without animals to ride, and our journey lay through a trackless prairie, beset by hostile Indians.

We dared not attempt to travel by day, for fear of being discovered by roving bands of Indians, and put to death. By accident, I lost my boots in the Verdigris River, so we "took it turn about" in wearing Rafferty's shoes, and used our clothing to protect our feet when not wearing the shoes.

We concealed ourselves by day and traveled at night, with only the sky for our covering and the stars for our guide.

Just before we reached the Neosho River we frightened a wild turkey from her nest, and secured nine eggs in an advanced stage of incubation. Rafferty's dainty appetite refused them, but I ate one with relish and undertook to save the rest for more pressing need.

We found the Neosho River not fordable, and Rafferty could not swim; so we constructed a rude raft with two uneven logs and bark. I put the eggs in the shoes, and the shoes between the logs, and undertook to spar Rafferty across the river. When we got midway the river Rafferty became frightened, tilted the raft, and we lost both the shoes and the eggs. On the morning after the second night the Missouri line appeared in sight, and we nerved ourselves for the final struggle. We reached the neighborhood from which he had started about 11 o'clock,—footsore, wounded, and half dead. The good women concealed us in the brush, and there fed us and nursed our sores until we were strengthened and healed. Rafferty was soon after killed, so that I, only, of the eighteen men who entered upon that fatal expedition, survived the war.

On the 28th day of May, 1863, Major Thomas R. Livingstone made a report to General Price from Diamond Grove, Mo., in which, among other things, he says: "Col. Warner Lewis is, also, here, who has just escaped from the Indians, and consequently without a force. He will make a report of the unfortunate disaster he escaped."

On the 30th day of May, 1863, Colonel William F. Cloud, of the 2nd Kansas Cavalry, made a report to Major General Schofield, in which he said, among other things: "A party of 16 men under command of a so-called Colonel Harrison were attacked and killed by Indians upon the Verdigris River west of Missouri, while on their way to the West," etc. A few days after the above tragedy an account was published in the Fort Scott paper in which it was stated that sixteen men were killed by Indians, and their heads cut off and piled up on the prairie.

The place where this unfortunate disaster occurred was

in the Indian Territory, and only a short distance south of the present town of Coffeyville, on the southern border of the State of Kansas, and seventy-five or eighty miles west of the west line of Missouri.

WARNER LEWIS.

Montgomery City, Mo.
November 19, 1907.

NOTES.

The War Department is compiling a complete roster of the Confederate soldiers, and Capt. James W. Allen, Missouri Trust building, St. Louis, has charge of collecting the data for Missouri. He has already sent to Washington over 3,000 documents from which lists are made. Veterans, Sons of Veterans, and Daughters of the Confederacy are earnestly requested to send documents to Capt. Allen, and all such documents will be returned to the owners. He says: "For the sake of history; for the sake of the memory of our deceased comrades, who fell upon the field of battle, and now lie buried in graves unmarked—'unknown', and those who since that eventful period have answered the 'last roll call', it becomes our sacred duty to see that their names are correctly enrolled upon the pages of this official roster, which will be published by the government."

Joseph A. Mudd, Hyattsville, Maryland, is collecting material for a history of Colonel Porter's command of Missouri Confederate soldiers during the civil war. Porter operated in North Missouri and Mr. Mudd, who was in his regiment, wishes to get into communication with any one of the Black Foot Rangers or others who were under him, or know anything in regard to the history of his regiment; also of the battle of Moore's Mill, or other engagements in which it took part. Let all such persons address Mr. Mudd as above, or the Secretary of the State Historical Society at Columbia.

Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne of Yale University, who delivered the annual address before the State Historical Society of Missouri, February 7, 1906, on the Romance of Western History, died at New Haven, February 24, at the age of forty-seven. He was possessed of extraordinary learning, both in European and American history, and his death is an irreparable loss.

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—— Camp Jackson: its history and significance. Oration in St. Louis, May 11, 1863, on the anniversary of the capture of Camp Jackson. (St. L. 1863.)

—— Speech of...before the Mass Convention at Jefferson City, Sept. 1, 1863. The wrongs of Missouri's loyal people. (n. t. p.) *

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—— Shelby's expedition to Mexico. An unwritten leaf of the war. (K. C. 1872.)

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Lathrop, Dr. D. The history of the 59th Ill. Vol., or a three years' campaign through Mo., Ark., &c. (Indianapolis, 1865.)

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——Report of Ways and Means Committee on Union Military bonds. (Jeff. City, 1863.) *

—— Reports of the Committees to investigate charges against Col. J. T. Babcoke, a member of the 23d General Assembly, together with the evidence in the case. (Jeff. City, 1866.) *

McKinstry, Justus. Vindication of Brig. Gen. J. McKinstry, formerly Quartermaster Western Department, (Missouri). (n. p. n. d. St. L. 1862.) *

Mich. 2d Cavalry. A hundred battles in the West. St. Louis to Atlanta, 1861-65, by Marshall B. Thatcher. (Detroit, 1884.)

Military Order of the Loyal Legion. War papers and personal reminiscences, 1861-1865. Read before the Commandery of the State of Missouri. (St. Louis, 1892.) *

—— The society has 78 of the In Memoriams issued by the Missouri Commandery.

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—— Act to provide the means for the payment and support of the enrolled militia forces. (n. t. p.)

—— An act to provide the means for the payment and

support of the enrolled militia forces of the State of Missouri. (Jeff. City, 1863.)

—— Memorial of the General Assembly to Congress in behalf of the Missouri State Militia. (Jeff. City, 1863.) *

—— Report of the Committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate the conduct and management of the militia. (Jeff. City, 1864.) *

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[Paynter, Rev. H. M.] Brief narrative of incidents in the war in Missouri, and of personal experience of one who has suffered. (Bost. 1863.) *

—— The duty of the Southern patriot and Christian in the present crisis. A sermon preached in Boonville, Jan. 4. 1861. (Boonville, 1861.)

Peacock, Thomas Brower. The rhyme of the border war. A historical poem of the Kansas-Missouri guerrilla war. (New York, 1880.) *

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Quantrell. Reminiscences of Quantrell's raid upon the city of Lawrence, Kansas. By John C. Shea. (K. C. 1879.) *

—— Quantrell the guerrilla chieftain. From his own diary. (n. p. n. d.) *

Rassieur, Leo. Address of comrade...delivered at Lyon Park, St. Louis, May 10, 1886, at celebration of quarter-centennial anniversary of capture of Camp Jackson. (St. L. 1886.) *

Reavis, L. U. The life and military services of Gen. Wm. Selby Harney. (St. L. 1878.) *

Regiments of Missouri.

2d Mo. Cavalry. By W. H. Brand. (The hand we love. vol. 3, p. 273, Charlotte, N. C., 1868.) *

3d Mo. Cavalry. By A. W. M. Petty. (Little Rock, 1865.)

4th Mo. Cavalry. Whip and Spur. By Geo. E. Waring, formerly Colonel. (Bost. 1875.)

6th Mo. Inf. A private chapter of the war. By Geo. W. Bailey. (St. L. 1880.) *

10th Mo. Inf. Regimental history by M. O. Frost. (Topeka, 1892.)

11th Mo. Inf. By D. McCall. 2d edit. (Spfld. 1864.)

21st Mo. Inf. Historical memoranda, by N. D. Starr and T. W. Holman. (Fort Madison, Iowa, 1899.) *

25th Mo. Inf. Illustrated history of the Missouri Engineers, and 25th Inf., by Dr. W. A. Neal. (Chi. 1889.) *

25th Mo. Inf. Memoir of Col. Geo. B. Boomer. By M. A. Stone. (Bost. 1864.)

26th Mo. Inf. Recollections by Benj. D. Dean. Lamar, 1892.

Mo. Home Guards. Speech by Hon. Jos. W. McClurg, Dec. 22, 1863. (Wash. n. d.)

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—— Missouri troops in service during the Civil War. Letters from the Secretary of War, 57th Congress, 1st session. Senate Document No. 412. (Wash. 1902.) *

—— Organization and status of Missouri troops (Union and Confederate) in service during the Civil War. (Wash. 1902.) *

Rice, D. D., N. L. Ten letters on the subject of slavery; addressed to the delegates to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. (St. L. 1855.)

Riding Whip, pseud. Three months in the Department of Misery, and a campaign with the Army of the Merramec, a series of letters written from a staff officer to his comrade in the Army of the Accomac. (St. L. 1865.)

Risk, T. F. A view of the pending political crisis, from a western standpoint. Address in St. Louis, Jan. 6, 1861. (n. t. p.)

Rombauer, R. J. .The Contest. A military treatise by

Col...formerly Col. of the 1st Reg. U. S. Mo. Vol. (St. L. 1863.)

Schurz, Carl. Speech of Carl Schurz at Verandah Hall, St. Louis, Aug. 1, 1860. (n. p. n. d.)

Slavery. Papers relating to the restriction of slavery. Speeches of Mr. King, in the Senate, and of Messrs. Taylor and Talmadge in the House, on the bill for authorizing the people of the Territory of Missouri to form a Constitution and state government, and for the admission of the same into the Union. In the session of 1818-19, with a report of a Committee of the Abolition Society of Delaware. (Phil. 1819.)

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Snider, Denton J. The American Ten Years War, 1855-1865. (St. Louis, c, 1906.) *

Sosey, Frank H. Robert Devoy. A tale of the Palmyra Massacre. (Palmyra, c, 1903.) * (Fiction.)

Southern Historical and Benevolent Association. Confederate Annals. (St. L. 1883. No. 1; June, No. 2, Aug.)

—— Union and Confederate Annals. (St. L. 1884. vol. 1, No. 1, Jan.)

[Starr, Rev. Frederick, Jr.] Letters to the people. (New York, 1853.)

Note. Nine letters on Slavery in Missouri.

Starr & Holman. The 21st Regiment Infantry Veteran Volunteers. Historical memoranda, compiled by N. D. Starr and T. W. Holman. (Fort Madison, Iowa, 1899.) *

Stringfellow, B. F. Negro slavery no evil, or the North and South considered in a report to the Platte County Self-defensive Assn. (St. L. 1854.)

Stroud, Geo. M. A sketch of the laws relating to slavery in the several States. (Phil. 1827.)

Stone, Rev. Richard C. Duties and responsibilities of the Christian citizen in the present crisis. A discourse delivered in St. Louis. (St. L. 1861.)

Thompson, C. Baucher. The Nachask origin of the black and mixed races. (St. L. 1860.)

Thompson, George. Prison life and reflections; or a narrative of the arrest, trial, conviction, imprisonment, treatment, observations, reflections, and deliverance of Work, Burr and Thompson, who suffered an unjust and cruel imprisonment in Missouri penitentiary for attempting to aid some slaves to liberty. (Oberlin, 1847. New York, 1848. Hartford, 1849. 1850. 1851.* 1855.)

—— The Prison Bard: or poems on various subjects. For four years and eleven months a prisoner in Missouri for attempting to aid some slaves to liberty. Written in prison. (Hartford, 1848.)

Todd & Edwards. The Centralia fight by W. C. Todd, and the killing of Jesse James by Maj. J. N. Edwards. (n. p. n. d.) *

Travis, Romulus L. The story of Lone Jack. Oak Grove, n. d. *

Triplett, Frank. The life, times, &c., of Jesse James. (St. L. 1882.)

Ware, Eugene F. The Lyon Campaign in Missouri, being a history of the 1st Iowa Inf. Regt. (Topeka, Kan., 1907.) *

Webb, W. L. Battles and biographies of Missourians or the Civil War period of our State. (K. C. 1900.) * 2d edit. (K. C., 1903.) *

Western Sanitary Commission. Suggestions for a plan of

organization for freed labor, and the leasing of plantations along the Mississippi river. By James E. Yeatman, President of the Commission, Dec. 17, 1863. (St. L. 1864.)

—— Report on a military hospital in St. Louis, 1862.

—— Report for year ending June, 1863. (St. L. 1863.) *

—— General report of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, held in St. Louis, May 17, 1864, with the acknowledgement of the Commission. (n. p. n. d.)

—— Report of the Western Sanitary Commission, in regard to leasing abandoned plantations, with rules and regulations, by James E. Yeatman. (St. L. 1864.)

—— A sketch of its origin, history, labors for the sick and wounded of the Westeru armies. (St. L. 1864.) *

—— What it does with its funds. Why it should be aided in its work. (St. L. 1864.)

— Report on white Union refugees of the South. (St. L. 1864.)

—— Final report, from May 9, 1864, to Dec. 31, 1865, (St. L. 1866.) *

Wherry, Wm. M. The campaign in Missouri and the battle of Wilson's Creek, 1861. (St. L. 1880.) *

Note. Mo. Hist. Soc. Collections, No. 1.

Wilkie, Franc B. The Iowa First. Letters from the war. (Dubuque, Iowa, 1861.)

Note. These letters record the complete operations of the Iowa First during their three months' service, all the active part of which was in Missouri—at Hannibal, Macon City, Renick, Boonville, Grand River, Springfield, and ending with the battle of Wilson's Creek. The author throws much light on the early operations in Missouri and the death of Lyon. W. C. B.

Witten, Rev. Robert R. Pioneer Methodism in Missouri

and the mission of Methodism. A semi-centennial sermon before the Missouri Annual Conference, Oct. 7, 1906. (n. p. n. d.)

Woodson, Warren, and Eli E. Bass. (Address) to the citizens of Boone and Callaway counties, Aug. 12, 1861. (n. t. p.) *

Woodward, Ashbel, M. D. Life of General Nathaniel Lyon. Hartford, 1862. *

NECROLOGY.

Miss Leah H. Brown. This authoress died in St. Louis, Jan. 16, 1908; while only twenty-six years old, she had published six volumes of prose and poetry. Of the latter the most noteworthy were "Golden Rod," "Mistletoe" and "The Ivy," and of the former the "North Pole." She was educated in the schools of St. Louis, and at an early age developed literary talent.

Philip Edward Chappell, for some years one of the trustees of this Society and also one of its corresponding members, was born August 18, 1837, on a farm near Bakersville, Callaway County, Missouri, and when a small boy his father moved to a farm in the same county where the present Cedar City now is. When fifteen years of age he went to Jefferson City, and for a year was clerk in a grocery store. Later he attended the Kemper School at Boonville, and the State University at Columbia. Returning home he opened a warehouse on his father's farm, and engaged in commercial matters again. He and a friend built the boat "John D. Perry," and for a time engaged in river freighting. Upon the death of his father he returned to the homestead, and marrying spent some years upon the farm. After the Civil War he became president of the Jefferson City Savings Bank, moving his family to that town in 1869. He was successively member of the city council, Mayor of the city, and State Treasurer, to which office he was elected by a majority of 54,000, when Mr. Crittenden was elected Governor. After his term of office was over he moved to Kansas City to become for seven years President of the Citizens National Bank, when his health caused him to resign. He then organized the Safe Deposit Company, and was its president till the time of his

death. Mr. Chappell was also president of a cattle company in Texas, and interested in various other companies, and a director in trust and banking companies.

Mr. Chappell was a solid man of brains and substance that made him an important factor in the growth and prosperity of Kansas City; a business man of the highest integrity that was thoroughly ingrained into his character.

The ancestors of Mr. Chappell were an old English family, some of whom settled in Virginia and from which his father, John Chappell, came to Missouri.

Mr. Chappell was an active literary worker, and in 1895 published a "Genealogical history of the Chappell, Dickie and other kindred families of Virginia," of which a revised edition was issued in 1900. In 1905 he published his "History of the Missouri river."

Mr. Chappell had agreed to write for the Review a paper on the administration of Gov. T. T. Crittenden, but failing health prevented his doing so, and on the 23d of February, 1908, he died at his home in Kansas City.

Col. W. Q. Dallmeyer was born in Dissen, Kingdom of Hanover, Germany, in October, 1829, and died at Jefferson City, March 15. He came to America in 1845, and during the Civil War served in Capt. Cooper's Company of Home Guards, and later in what was known as Dallmeyer's Battalion, of which he was Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1864 he was elected a member of the Legislature, and re-elected for a second General Assembly. In 1868 he was elected State Treasurer, and afterwards remained a resident of Jefferson City, and was cashier of the Exchange Bank up to the time of his death.

General Odin Guitar was born in Richmond, Ky., August 31, 1825. He entered the Missouri University at its first session, and graduated in 1846, and without waiting to take part in the commencement exercises he enlisted in Doniphan's First Missouri Mounted Volunteers. After the Mexican War he read law and was admitted to the bar in 1848. In 1853

he was elected to the Legislature from Boone County and served two sessions.

At the beginning of the Civil War Gov. Gamble commissioned him to raise a regiment and he organized the Ninth Missouri Cavalry, which became famous as the "Bloody Ninth." In August, 1862, he was commissioned Brigadier General for bravery on the field.

After the war he resumed the practice of law in Columbia, and he became prominent as a criminal lawyer, and active in politics as a member of the Republican party.

General Guitar was married December 26, 1865, to Miss Kate Leonard of Howard County, daughter of Abiel Leonard, for many years a Judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri.

He died March 13, and his funeral was held from the Auditorium of the University, and his body was laid to rest with military honors.

Mrs. Clara C. Hoffman has for the last twenty-five years been a prominent factor in the temperance movement of the State and nation. She was born in De Kalb County, New York, January 19, 1831, and married in Illinois. Coming to Warrensburg, Missouri, she taught school there for some years, and in 1871 went to Kansas City, where for a time she continued the occupation of teaching. In 1882 she commenced work in the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and in 1883 was elected president of the organization in Missouri at its first annual convention, and has since devoted her life to the cause in Missouri and the nation. During the last twelve years in addition to being State President, she has been recording secretary of the national organization, and in 1895 was sent as a delegate to the world's convention of the union held in London, England, and she then spent some months lecturing in Great Britain, Germany, France and Switzerland. After her election as president of the union she became a fluent and ready extemporaneous public speaker. She died of pneumonia at the home of her son, Guy C. Hoffman, in Kansas City, February 13, 1908.

Hon. James M. Hopkins was born in Linden, Atchison County, Missouri, March 2, 1859, and lived all his life in that county, principally on the farm which was his home at the time of his death, February 3, 1908. He graduated from Tabor (Iowa) College in 1880, and from the State University of Missouri in 1883, and afterwards studied law, but remained a farmer. He was elected by the Democratic party as a member of the House of Representatives of the 39th General Assembly, 1879. His father, Nelson O. Hopkins, was a member of the same house in 1847 and again in 1882.

Gen. W. H. Kennon, Adjutant General under Gov. Stone, committed suicide at the State Hospital for insane at Farmington, March 27th. He was born near Rocheport, Boone County, 72 years ago, and had been a resident of Mexico, Missouri, for thirty years. He was adjutant of Parsons' Brigade under Gen. Price in the Confederate Army, and at the time of his death was secretary of the Board of Directors of the Confederate Home at Higginsville. He was a member of the Thirty-third General Assembly in 1885 from Audrain County. He was a brother-in-law of the late Gov. Charles H. Hardin.

Sylvester W. Kniffin, a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri, died at his residence in Kansas City, February 7, 1908, aged 65 years.

During the Civil War he was captain in an Illinois regiment, and at the time of his death was a member of the Loyal Legion and of the Grand Army of the Republic. He had been a resident of Kansas City for twelve years, going there from Sedalia, where he was married during his residence in that city. He had resided in Missouri most of the time since the Civil War.

Hon. Fremont Lamb was born in De Kalb County, Illinois, September 4, 1853; moved to Iowa in 1866; and came to Missouri in 1875, and afterwards lived upon a farm near Denver in Worth County. He was also for a number of years Deputy

Surveyor of the county, and in 1890 was elected as a Republican to the House of Representatives of the 36th General Assembly, and served in the regular and special sessions in 1891 and 1892. He died of pneumonia, February 7, 1908, a man universally respected and honored, an earnest church member and a worker in the Odd Fellow fraternity.

Edward C. Mayer, born in California, Missouri, fifty years ago, and almost a lifelong resident of Jefferson City, died in that city, February 10, 1908. About twenty years ago he founded the Evening Courier in connection with A. S. Ferguson, now of Oklahoma. They disposed of this paper, and in 1900 founded the daily and weekly Republican, which was afterwards consolidated with the Review of St. Louis.

Hon. James M. Ming was born in Campbell County, Va., May 16, 1824, and in 1837 settled in Franklin County, Missouri. He was elected to the 25th and 26th General Assemblies of Missouri in 1868 and 1872, and afterwards was elected three times as one of the judges of the county court. He was again a member of the Legislature in 1884 and 1885. He died at Washington, Mo., March 22, 1908.

Daniel Reedy, assistant editor of the Mirror for the last five years, and an old newspaper man, died in St. Louis, February 21, aged 38 years.

Hon. Thomas Shackelford, son of Thomas and Eliza C. Pulliam Shackelford, was born on a farm in Saline County, Missouri, February 6, 1822, and died at Glasgow, Missouri, March 10, 1908. He was educated at a private school in Fayette, Missouri, kept by Archibald Patterson, who afterwards founded Central College at that place. He studied law in the same town under Abiel Leonard, later a judge of the Supreme Court of Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1842, and continued in active practice from that to his last sickness. When he was admitted to the bar there had been published eight volumes of Reports of the Supreme Court of Missouri, while now there are 206 volumes of this court, and

Hon. James M. Hopkins was born in Lind[illegible] County, Missouri, March 2, 1859, and lived a[illegible] judges that county, principally on the farm which [illegible]as ad- at the time of his death, February 3, 1908. [illegible]hig, and from Tabor (Iowa) College in 1880, and from[illegible] the Con- versity of Missouri in 1883, and afterwards [illegible]ention he remained a farmer. He was elected by the [illegible] Committee as a member of the House of Represent[illegible] Shackelford General Assembly, 1879. His father, Nels[illegible]ty in Feb- a member of the same house in 1847 and [illegible]ing the his-

Gen. W. H. Kennon, Adjutant Gener[illegible] which paper committed suicide at the State Hospita[illegible] He was also ington, March 27th. He was born [illegible] 1875, which County, 72 years ago, and had been [illegible] Missouri, for thirty years. He wa[illegible] a long period Brigade under Gen. Price in the C[illegible] important cases the time of his death was secretary [illegible] a lawyer should of the Confederate Home at Higgi[illegible] and he first of the Thirty-third General Asse[illegible] right, and then County. He was a brother-in-l[illegible] that it was H. Hardin.

Sylvester W. Kniffin, a m[illegible] Episcopal Church Society of Missouri, died at [illegible] active member, February 7, 1908, aged 65 ye[illegible] Conference, and During the Civil War he [illegible] of the discipline ment, and at the time of his [illegible] world. At the Legion and of the Grand [illegible] in 1871 he was been a resident of Kansas [illegible] all the time of his from Sedalia, where he w[illegible] interests of his town that city. He had resid[illegible] participant, and the Civil War. [illegible] sheer.

Hon. Fremont Lam[illegible] September 4, 1853; m[illegible] souri in 1875, and af[illegible] in Worth County. H[illegible]

Atchison **County, Missouri.**
.iews of residences and pictures
Issued by the Atchison County
r. (c. 1905, by H. F. Stapel, Rock

Atchison County Mail has done a
of his county and the state in the
on of this finely illustrated work of
pages. **Following a historical sketch**
towns are short biographies of nearly
.ts of the county. **The biographical**
y compressed into a small space for each
there are many thousands of facts and
an invaluable mine of information for all
.he Society is pleased to add it to the large
.is relating to the biographical history of the

Europe. By Denton J. Snider. St. Louis.

her **of History.** An account of Herodotus. By
nider. St. Louis. (c. 1907.)

can **History**, chiefly ancient in its processes. By
Snider... St. Louis. (c. 1908.)

above three works have lately come to the Society,
thirty-nine volumes of Mr. Snider's publications in its
a number perhaps greater than is generally realized
y those who know of the prominence of Mr. Snider as a
r and teacher. His later works have been classified
r five heads,—psychology, history of philosophy, institu-
s, aesthetic and history, together forming the new system

125 of the Court of Appeals, and more than half of the judges of the Supreme Court were not yet born when he was admitted to the bar.

Prior to the war Judge Shackelford was a Whig, and during the war a Union man. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1861, and in that Convention he offered an amendment to the resolutions of the Committee on Resolutions, and which is known as the "Shackelford Amendment." At the annual meeting of the Society in February, 1906, Judge Shackelford read a paper giving the history of, and motives leading to this amendment, which paper was published in the first volume of the Review. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, which formed the present Constitution of the State.

His legal practice was extensive, and for a long period of time he was engaged in many of the important cases arising in Central Missouri. He believed that a lawyer should exert his powers in having the right prevail, and he first satisfied himself as to which side was morally right, and then exerted his knowledge of law to show the court that it was legally right.

He became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1847, and was ever afterward an active member, many times being a delegate to the General Conference, and the author of legislation that became a part of the discipline of the church.

He was also prominent in the business world. At the organization of the Glasgow Savings Bank in 1871 he was made its president, and continued such till the time of his death. In all the business and industrial interests of his town and county he was a trusted advisor and participant, and in his 86th year closed a long and useful career.

BOOK NOTICES.

Biographical History. Atchison County, Missouri. Illustrated with farm scenes, views of residences and pictures of people, live stock, etc. Issued by the Atchison County Mail. **H. F. Stapel,** publisher. (c. 1905, by H. F. Stapel, Rock Port, Mo., 802 pp.)

The publisher of the Atchison County Mail has done a good service to the people of his county and the state in the preparation and publication of this finely illustrated work of more than eight hundred pages. Following a historical sketch of the county and its towns are short biographies of nearly four hundred residents of the county. The biographical sketches are necessarily compressed into a small space for each one, but in the total there are many thousands of facts and dates given, making an invaluable mine of information for all time to come. The Society is pleased to add it to the large collection it now has relating to the biographical history of the State.

A Tour in Europe. By **Denton J. Snider.** St. Louis. (c. 1907.)

The Father of History. An account of Herodotus. By **Denton J. Snider.** St. Louis. (c. 1907.)

European History, chiefly ancient in its processes. By **Denton J. Snider...** St. Louis. (c. 1908.)

The above three works have lately come to the Society, making thirty-nine volumes of Mr. Snider's publications in its library, a number perhaps greater than is generally realized even by those who know of the prominence of Mr. Snider as a writer and teacher. His later works have been classified under five heads,—psychology, history of philosophy, institutions, aesthetic and history, together forming the new system

of thought upon which Dr. Snider has been engaged for some years. The first of the above named books is a pleasant variation from the works classified under the headings given above, and carries one with interest from his Missouri home through much of Europe.

A Glimpse of the Pacific Isles. By **W. W. Wheeler.** (n. p., n. d.)

The author, a wholesale merchant of St. Joseph, with a taste for travel, and a disposition to let his friends as far as possible enjoy with him the trip, has issued the above account of a four months trip to our island possessions, and other points in the far East. The work consists of 211 pages of heavy paper, one-half having full page photographs of scenery. The work was privately printed, and reflects much credit upon the author. The Society is pleased to add it to its large collection of privately printed works by Missouri authors.

Heliotrope a book of verse, by **John Rothensteiner,** (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1908.)

Father Rothensteiner, pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost in St. Louis, and one of the Trustees of this Society, has added this fifth publication of peotry by him and which he calls "rhymes of faith and hope." Father Rothensteiner has a recognized position in literature, and has a library of English literature, of German literature and ecclesiastical literature not often excelled, the latter including very many of the folio tomes of early times.

Hamilton's Itinerarium being a narrative of a journey from Annapolis, Maryland, through Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire from May to September, 1744, by Doctor Alexander Hamilton. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, L. L. D., Professor of History in Harvard University. Printed only for private distribution by William K. Bixley, Saint Louis, Missouri—MCMVII.

Various Societies and clubs have published or reprinted rare books and pamphlets, for which they have become famous and their publications sought for by libraries generally. Mr. Bixby, of St. Louis, individually, is doing what is being done to some extent by organizations, and while his publications are not on the market, those to whom he has presented copies are fortunate. The above work is quite fully described in the title page, and consists of XXVII, 263, (1) pages, with a number of plates, the paper printing and binding of the highest excellence.

The copy presented to the Society by Mr. Bixby is 273, there having been a total of 487 printed.

At Seventy-five and other poems. A birthday souvenir. By **W. T. Moore.** (St. Louis, 1907.)

Preacher Problems or the twentieth century preacher at his work. By **William Thomas Moore, L. L. D.** Fleming H. Revell Company. (c. 1907. 2d edition.)

The above are two of the later works of Dr. Moore, formerly of Cincinnati and London, and now of Columbia, Missouri. The book of poetry includes some poems previously published, but now reissued in this work issued by the Christian Publishing Company, of St. Louis, in a manner that makes it a real souvenir edition as to paper, printing and binding. The book has four fine engravings of Dr. Moore, representing him at the ages of 32, 42, 62 and 69 years.

The Adventures of Little Pug Trix and other Stories. By **Edith Hall Orthwein,** Kansas City, 1899.

Petals of love for Thee by **Edith Hall Orthwein,** New York, Dodge Publishing Co., c. 1904.

These two works by Mrs. Charles T. Orthwein, of Kansas City, one of prose the other of poetry, are finely illustrated, the first with full page plates, the other with flower illustrations in color on each page, and are attractive books for looks as well as for contents.

PROGRAM

FIRST MEETING OF THE MISSOURI SOCIETY

of the

TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

To be held at the

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA,

Saturday, May 2, 1908.

President,	Vice President,	Secretary-Treasurer,
ISIDOR LOEB,	E. M. VIOLETTE,	ANNA C. GILDAY,
University of Missouri, Columbia.	State Normal School, Kirksville.	Manual Training High School, Kansas City.

Morning Session, Nine O'clock.

Conference.

1. "The Relation of History and Government in Secondary Schools." Henry R. Tucker, Instructor in the William McKinley High School, St. Louis; William A. Lewis, Instructor in the Central High School, Kansas City; C. M. Weyand, Instructor in the High School, Moberly.
2. "The Teaching of Economics in High Schools." M. A. O'Rear, Superintendent of Schools, Boonville.
3. General Discussion.

Afternoon Session, Two O'clock.

1. "The Mystery of Mary Stuart." Roland G. Usher, Instructor in History, Washington University, St. Louis.
2. "The Clay-Tyler Controversy of 1841." Frank F. Stephens, Instructor in American History, University of Missouri.
3. "The Educational Value of History as a School Subject." Jesse Lewis, Professor of History, State Normal School, Maryville.

4. Business Meeting.
   (a) Adoption of Constitution.
   (b) Election of Officers.

Persons not members of the Society will be cordially welcomed to the sessions.

Papers are limited to twenty-five minutes and discussions to ten minutes for each speaker.

All sessions will be held in the Lecture Room of the Zoological Building.

Further information regarding the meeting of the Society can be had by addressing Professor Isidor Loeb, Columbia, Missouri.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 2. JULY, 1908. NO. 4

REV. JESSE WALKER, THE APOSTLE OF THE WILDERNESS.

Jesse Walker was a remarkable character and one of the most famous men of his day. He was a pioneer, and was to the church what Daniel Boone was to the early settlers; always first, always ahead of every one else, preceding all others long enough to be the pilot to the new comer. He came from North Carolina to Davidson county, Tennessee, at the beginning of the nineteenth century and settled about three miles from the then village of Nashville. He was at the time a man of family, consisting of wife and three children, poor and to a considerable extent uneducated. His occupation was that of dressing deer skins. Well dressed deer leather was in great demand, being much used for gloves, moccasins, trousers and vests for men, and the finer grades for ladies' dresses and skirts. To dress the hides of animals successfully was no mean accomplishment and a very useful occupation. Of Mr. Walker's earlier life we are unable to learn anything. No mention of either time or place of his birth is made by any of his biographers, or even of the time or circumstances of his conversion. But it is most likely that it occurred during the

great revival that swept the country during the earlier years of the century. He was admitted on trial into the Western Conference (1) in the autumn of 1802 and appointed to the Red River Circuit, which lay partly in Tennessee and partly in Kentucky. In 1803 he was appointed to Livingston Circuit, and the next two years his appointment was the Hartfort circuit, the last two in Kentucky. This closed his work in Kentucky. From this period, as long as he was able to travel and preach, he occupied the most dangerous and difficult fields on the frontier. In the fall of 1806 his field of labor was Illinois Circuit. This so-called circuit embraced the entire populated portion of Illinois Territory. (2) So far as we can learn no minister of the gospel had ever preached in this new territory before, except John Clark, a local Methodist preacher who had located some years before in Illinois, and who preached at different points in both Illinois and Missouri. From Mr. Walker's home in Kentucky to his new field of operations was probably five hundred miles through a wilderness, and in making the journey, with one other, he was compelled to camp out at night, roasting his own meat and corn which he carried with him, and sleeping on his saddle blanket and using his saddle bags for his pillow. He entered on his new work with his accustomed zeal and energy, and such was his success, that another preacher was sent to assist him. He held the first camp meeting ever held in the Territory, which resulted in a revival that extended through most of the settlement embraced in the circuit, which was constantly extending its borders as the people moved into the territory. This was the beginning of the great work accomplished in after years by the Methodist church.

In the fall of 1807 Mr. Walker was appointed to Missouri

1. The Western Conference in 1802 and for several years afterwards embraced the entire valley of the Mississippi, from the Allegheny mountains to the remotest settlements of the South and West. It included in boundaries Missouri, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio Territories. Nashville and St. Louis were in the same district, with Wm. McKendree, afterward Bishop, as the Presiding Elder.

2. History of Methodism in Kentucky by Dr. A. H. Redford, Nashville, 1868. Vol. 1, p. 414.

Circuit. This circuit is supposed to have included all of the settlements on both sides of the Missouri river. Dr. Al. P. Green in his sketch of Mr. Walker says he preached this year in St. Louis, and although he succeeded in gathering a small congregation of well disposed persons, including three or four who had previously belonged to the Methodist church, it is evident that he failed to organize a permanent society in the city that year. During the year he held two camp meetings and added many new members to his church. This is all that we find recorded of his year's labors, but it may be set down as a fact that he visited every settlement large and small within his reach, and read the Scriptures and held prayers in every settler's cabin he was permitted to enter, and very few ever refused Walker.

The next year he was again sent to Illinois, but of that year's work we have no account. In the autumn of 1809, he was appointed to Cape Girardeau Circuit, Missouri. But as usual our "prospector" found his field of labor too small for him, large as it was, so he crossed the Big Swamp, then almost impassable, into the New Madrid district, and preached the first Protestant gospel sermon ever heard in that region, and organized the New Madrid Circuit, which he traveled during the remainder of the year in connection with the Cape Girardeau Circuit, thus doing two men's work, that is the work of two ordinary men. The next year Mr. Walker was reappointed to the same circuit, Cape Girardeau, but was immediately changed to a different field and actually traveled the Illinois, Maramac and Cold Water Circuits united into one, in conjunction with Rev. Colbert, as assistant. This Circuit as thus formed was more than equal in extent to a dozen modern presiding elder's districts. During this year Colbert and probably Walker preached in St. Louis.

In 1811 we find Mr. Walker again in Illinois, prosecuting with apostolic zeal his high and holy calling. In 1812 he was made presiding elder of Illinois district. This district embraced the circuits in Missouri as well as those in Illionis. As Presiding Elder he was emphatically at home. He loved

the wide field and the great responsibility of the work, and he threw himself into it with a zeal and energy which few could have emulated. When the extent of his district is considered, including as it did Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas, we think all will agree that even he could not have desired a more extensive field. It is not our purpose, in a sketch like this to follow him in detail. He was always going and preaching everywhere. Not a new settlement, but what was hunted out and preached to, and if possible, a society organized and regular preaching provided for. Camp meetings were held during the summer at all of the appointments, in all the circuits. These meetings, which were such an important factor in the church's development of that day, were a necessity because of a want of churches, or even school houses, in which to preach. The people's cabins could not accommodate one-fourth of Jesse Walker's quarterly meeting congregations. His Sabbath congregations collected from far and near, people coming ten, twenty and even thirty miles, so famous was he as a preacher. In 1814, the Illinois district was divided, that part in Missouri and Arkansas was in the Missouri district, that in Illinois and Indiana, the Illinois district, and Jesse Walker continued as presiding elder of the Illinois district, which position he held for two years. But as it is our purpose to consider him mainly in connection with his work in Missouri, we will add nothing further concerning his labors in Illinois and Indiana, other than to say that it was of the same character ever displayed by him, full of hardships, deprivations and dangers.

In 1816 Mr. Walker was made presiding elder of Missouri district, including the Missouri territory and settled parts of Arkansas. He remained on this district for three years, but to attempt a record of his labors would be only to repeat a part of his past record. Suffice it to say that the membership of the church increased during his administration from 941 members to 1408.

In 1819 his appointment was missionary, investing him with authority to extend his labors to the farthest borders

of civilization and to plant the standard of the cross upon its very verge, and this work he did most faithfully. In 1820 he was reappointed missionary. This brings us to the most important work of our hero's life, and also to the most important era in the history of the church in Missouri: the establishment of Methodism in St. Louis. (3) Not but that some efforts had been made to raise up a church in that growing town, but they had been of desultory character, and really had accomplished little or nothing. Although Brother Walker had never been engaged in city work, the plan he adopted for the accomplishment of his purpose proved to be the correct one. In view of the importance of this work we think it best to reproduce the story entire as told by Bishop T. A. Morris, as he received it from Brother Walker, and doubtless it is the most correct of any in existence.

The Bishop's account was as follows:

"In 1820 our veteran pioneer formed the purpose, at once bold and benevolent, of planting the standard of Methodism in St. Louis, Missouri, where, previously, Methodist preachers had found no rest for the soles of their feet; the early inhabitants, from Spain and France, being utterly opposed to our Protestant principles, and especially to Methodism. He commenced laying the train at conference, appointed a time to open the campaign and begin the siege, and engaged two young preachers, of undoubted zeal and courage, such as he believed would stand by him "to the bitter end," to meet at a given time and place, and to aid him in the difficult enterprise. Punctual to their engagement, they all met, and proceeded to the city together. When they reached St. Louis, the territorial legislature was there in session; and every public place appeared to be full. The missionaries preferred private lodgings, but could obtain none. When they announced their profession, and the object of their visit, no one appeared to show the slightest sympathy with them. Some laughed at, and

3. The charter members of the society organized by Walker were A. Burns and wife, John Finney, John Armstrong and Joseph Piggott, Jan., 1821.

others cursed them to their face. Thus embarrassed at every point, they rode into the public square, and held a consultation on their horses. The prospect was gloomy; no open door could be found; every avenue seemed to be closed against them. The young preachers expressed strong doubts as to their being in the order of Providence. Their leader tried to rally and encourage them, but in vain. They thought the Lord had no work there for them to do, or there would be some way to get to it. Instead of a kind reception, such as they had been accustomed to elsewhere, they were not only denied all courtesy, but turned off, at every point, with insult. As might be expected, under these circumstances, they thought it best to return whence they came immediately; and though their elder brother entreated them not to leave him, they deliberately brushed the dust off their feet, for a testimony against the wicked city, as the Savior had directed his disciples to do in similiar cases, and, taking leave of Father Walker, rode off, and left him sitting on his horse. These were excellent young ministers, and, in view of the treatment they had met with, no blame was attached to them for leaving. Perhaps that hour brought with it more of the feeling of despondency to the veteran pioneer than he ever experienced in any other hour of his eventful life; and, stung with disappointment, he said, in his haste, "I will go to the state of Mississippi, and hunt up the lost sheep of the house of Israel," reined his horse in that direction, and with a sorrowful heart rode off alone.

Having proceeded about eighteen miles, constantly ruminating, with anguish of spirit, upon his unexpected failure, and lifting his heart to God in prayer for help and direction, he came to a halt, and entered into a soliloquy on this wise, "Was I ever defeated before in this blessed work? Never. Did any one ever trust in the Lord Jesus Christ and get confounded? No; and, by the grace of God I will go back and take St. Louis." Then reversing his course, without seeking rest or refreshment for man or beast, he immediately, and with all convenient haste, retraced his steps to the city,

and with some difficulty, obtained lodging in an indifferent tavern, where he paid the highest rate for everything. Next morning he commenced a survey of the city and its inhabitants; it being his first object to ascertain whether any Methodists from distant parts, had been attracted there by a prospect of business, who might be of service to him. Finally he heard of one man, who, by rumor, was said to be a Methodist, and went directly to his shop, inquired for him by name, there being several persons present, and he was pointed out, when the following conversation was held: "Sir, my name is Walker; I am a Methodist preacher; and being told that you were a Methodist, I have taken the liberty to call on you." The man blushed, and with evident confusion, called the preacher one side and said: "I was a Methodist once before I came here; but finding no brethren in St. Louis, I never reported myself, and do not now consider myself a member; nor do I wish such a report to get out, lest it injure me in my business." The missionary finding him ashamed of his name, concluded he was worthless, and left him.

While passing about the city he met with some members of the Territorial Legislature, who knew him, and said: "Why, Father Walker, what has brought you here?" His answer was: "I have come to take St. Louis." They thought it a hopeless undertaking, and to convince him remarked, that the inhabitants were mostly Catholics and infidels, very dissipated and wicked, and there was no probability that a Methodist preacher could obtain any access to them, and seriously advised him to abandon the enterprise, and return to his family, then residing in Illinois. But to all such suggestions and dissuasions, Jesse returned one answer: "I have come in the name of Christ, to take St. Louis, and by the grace of God, I will do it."

His first public experience was in a temporary place of worship occupied by a few Baptists. There were, however, but few present. Nothing special occurred, and he obtained leave to preach again. During the second effort there were strong indications of religious excitement; and the Baptists,

fearing their craft was in danger, closed their doors against him. He next found a large but unfinished dwelling house, inquired for the proprietor, and succeeded in renting it, as it was, for ten dollars a month. Passing by the public square, he saw some old benches stacked away by the end of the court house, it having been recently fitted with new ones. These he obtained from the commissioner, had them put on a dray and removed to his hired house; borrowed tools, and repaired, with his own hands, such as were broken, and fitted up his largest room for a place of worship. After completing his arrangements, he commenced preaching regularly twice on the Sabbath, and occasionally in the evenings between the Sabbaths. At the same time he gave notice that if there were any poor parents who wished their children taught to spell and read, he would teach them five days in a week, without fee or reward; and if there were any who wished their servants to learn, he would teach them, on the same terms, in the evenings.

In order to be always on the spot, and to curtail his heavy expenses, which he had no certain means of meeting, he took up his abode and kept bachelor's hall in his own hired house. The chapel-room was soon filled with hearers, and the school with children. Some of the better class of citizens insisted on sending their children to encourage the school, and paying for the privilege; and to accommodate them, and render the school more useful, he hired a young man, more competent than himself, to assist in teaching. In the mean time he went to visit his family, and returned with a horse load of provisions and bedding, determined to remain there and push the work till something was accomplished. Very soon a work of grace commenced, first among the colored people, then among the poorer class of whites, and gradually ascended in its course till it reached the more intelligent and influential, and the prospect became truly encouraging.

About this time an event transpired, which seemed, at first, to be against the success of his mission, but which

eventuated in its favor. The work of death caused the hired house to change hands; and he was notified to vacate it in a short time. Immediately, he conceived a plan for building a small frame chapel; and without knowing where the funds were to come from, but trusting in Providence, put the work under contract. Jesse was to furnish the materials, and the carpenter to have a given sum for the work. A citizen owning land across the Mississippi gave him leave to take the lumber from his forest as a donation, and when he started with his choppers and hewers, followed them to the boat, and had them ferried over, from time to time, at his expense. Soon the chapel was raised and covered; the ladies paid the expense of building a pulpit; and the vestrymen of a small Episcopal church, then without a minister, made him a present of their old Bible and cushion. They also gave him their slips, which he accepted, on condition of their being free; and having unscrewed the shutters, and laid them by, he lost no time in transferring the open slips to his new chapel. New friends came to his relief in meeting his contracts; the chapel was finished, and opened for public worship, and was well filled; the revival received fresh impulse; and as the result of the first year's experiment, he reported to conference a snug little chapel erected and paid for, a flourishing school, and seventy church members in St. Louis. Of course next year he was regularly appointed to that mission station, but without any missionary appropriation, and considered it an honorable appointment. Thus "Father Walker," as every one about the city called him, succeeded in taking St. Louis, which, as he expressed it, had been "the very fountain-head of devilism." (4)

To this quotation from Bishop Morris, we add the following from Rev. John Scripps, a prominent member of the Missouri conference, and an intimate friend of Walker. The occasion to which we refer was the meeting of the Missouri conference in St. Louis, in 1822, at the close of Mr. Walker's

4. Miscellany by Bishop T. A. Morris, D. D. Cincinnati. Pp. 185-189.

second year, and before his church was fully completed, but in which the sessions of the conference were held.

"When I attended conference in St. Louis, in 1822, where he had provided, among the citizens, superior accommodations for all the preachers, he sedulously avoided any reference to his own lodgings; and I had to use some address to discover them, and contrary to his wishes, made rather a forcible entry into them. They were in a two room log cabin. Indeed, inasmuch as it was a two story one, old, in the last stages of dilapidation, and tottering to its fall (the family of a poor day-laborer occupied the lower room), a crazy flight of steps, not stairs, brought me into a dreary, unfinished room overhead, where a board, on barrels, composed an apology for a table, covered with his books, papers and writing apparatus, scarcely a seat to sit on, and a very hard, coarse mattress, on the floor, for his repose. This I know; for I lay that night, upon it. Thus was he sacrificing ease, comfort and comparative affluence, which he might have enjoyed on his farm, at home, for the all-absorbing cause that filled his mind and occupied his thoughts—the prosperity of our holy religion in St. Louis; to the furtherance of which all his little means, beyond what his own immediate necessities required, were cheerfully surrendered; by which the first Methodist Church, in the city of St. Louis was completed and occupied at this, the first session of our conference here. It was a neat frame, with side galleries, and sufficiently commodious for a St. Louis congregation of those days.

"Brother Walker having built a mill on his farm, in Illinois, his son-in-law, D. Everett (nephew to the venerated Joseph Everett, one of the fathers of our Methodism), used to take a wagon load of flour or Indian meal, every week, to Brother Walker, by the sale of which he supported himself in this mission." (5)

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5. Rev. John Scripps as quoted in Methodism in Missouri by Rev. D. R. McAnally, D. D., St. Louis, 1881. Vol. 1, pp. 272-273.

Succeeding his labors in St. Louis he was appointed conference missionary. Of his labors for this year we have no record, but we are assured that his life was just as strenuous, and his labors as fruitful in results as in other years. In 1823, his appointment reads, "Jesse Walker, Missionary to the Missouri Conference, whose attention is especially directed to the Indians within the bounds of said conference." In regard to his work among the Indians we again quote Bishop Morris. He received the story from Brother Walker very soon after the events recorded occurred.

"Brother Walker was continued conference Missionary, and in 1823 began to turn his special attention to the Indian Tribes up the Mississippi. When he reached their villages, he learned that most of them had gone to a great distance to make their fall's hunt. Not a whit discouraged by this disappointment, he procured a bag of corn, and an interpreter, and set off in pursuit of them, crossing the Mississippi in a canoe, and swimming his horse by the side of it. After a difficult and wearisome journey, they reached one cluster of camps, on the bank of a small stream, about dusk of evening. When they first rode up, an Indian—who knew the interpreter—said, "Who is with you, a quaker?" "No." "A minister?" "Yes." Word was conveyed to the chief, a tall, dignified man, who came out and gave them a welcome reception, secured their horses, with ropes, to the trees, with his own hands, and then showed them into his own camp, which was a temporary hut, with flat logs laid round inside for seats, and a fire in the center, and in his own Indian style, introduced them to his wife, who received them kindly, and entertained them cheerfully. The chief, learning that his white guest wished to hold a talk with him and his people, sent notice to the neighboring camps of a council to be held in his lodge that evening. In the mean time, the chief's wife prepared a repast for the occasion, consisting of broth, enriched with venison and o'possum, served up in wooden bowls. After the council convened, and each member was seated, with his dog lying under his knees, the

chief's wife handed the first bowl of meat and broth to her husband, the second to the missionary, and then went round according to seniority till all were served. Each man having picked his bone, gave it to his own dog to crack, which knew the rule of the council better than to leave his place behind his master's feet before the feast was ended. Next the tomahawk pipe of peace was passed around, each taking his whif in turn. This ceremony over, the chief struck the blade of the instrument into the ground, and inquired what was the object of the meeting. Jesse informed him that he had come a long journey to bring them the book which the Great Spirit had sent to all his children, both white and red, and to ascertain whether they would allow him to establish a school among them, and teach their children to read it. So saying, he handed a Bible to the chief, who examined it deliberately and carefully, as a great curiosity, and then passed it round till every member of the council, in his proper place, had done the same. After examining the Bible, the chief rose and replied as follows: "The white children's father had given them a book, and they would do well to do what it told them; but they doubted whether it was intended for his red children. However, as some of their older men were absent, they could not then decide the matter; but in a few days, they would hold a larger council, and then give him an answer.' The result of the second council was leave to establish a mission school. Having settled this matter to his mind, Jesse returned to make preparation for the mission, and to attend the General Conference next spring, at Baltimore, leaving a pledge that he would visit them next summer, and commence operations in their villages. After he had proceeded nearly a day's journey from the camps, a messenger came galloping after him, and said, 'The chiefs have sent me to tell you to be sure to come back next summer,' which he again promised to do. While on his way to Baltimore, he called on the Secretary of War, at Washington City, and obtained his sanction to go on with the mission." (6)

6. Ibid, pp. 190-192.

At the General Conference which met in May 1824, Illinois and Indiana were separated from Missouri, and formed into a new conference called Illinois. As Jesse Walker fell into this new conference he received no other appointments in Missouri, but spent the remainder of his life in his new conference. His appointment for the year beginning in the fall of 1824, was missionary to the settlements between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, and to the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Clark. A big work certainly for a man as far advanced in years as Father Walker, as every one now called him.

In 1825 he was sent as missionary to the Pottawatomie Indians, where he remained three years, but we have no account of his labors at this mission. In 1828 he was sent to the Peoria and in 1829 to the Fox River Mission. Fortunately we have a letter of his to Bishop Roberts which we insert as it gives us not only a view of the work he was engaged in but also a clear insight to the character of the man himself. And it should not be forgotten that at the time this letter was written Father Walker was growing old, prematurely, probably, but growing old, and was nearing the end of his labors as we will soon see. This letter, the only one of his in existence so far as we know, shows what manner of men those were who planted Methodism in the great West. The letter here follows:

"After my best respects to you, I will give an account of my labors since conference. I reached Chicago sufficiently soon to meet the Indians at the time of the payment; but the agent was on his death bed, and he died a few days after; so that no council could be held, or anything, in short, be done with them. At length, after five days, starving and drinking, they gave them their money, and all broke up in confusion. One of the chiefs said, that all must be laid over till the next year. I then went to see the Kickapoos and those of the Pottawatomies that had commenced to serve the Lord. I had to follow them down the Grand prairie. Some I found on the Ambroise, some on the Little Wabash, and

some on the Fox. This has taken me four weeks, in which I have been but a few nights in a house. The rains have been frequent; but the Lord has blessed me with health. I have returned to this place well, for which I am thankful. The Indians express a strong desire to settle themselves, and change their mode of living. There are three hundred of them who attend the worship of God morning and evening, and keep holy the Sabbath day. I can only say, that there can be no doubt but if they could get some place, they would gladly settle themselves, and learn to read the word of God, and till the earth. Such a place is promised them by the Pottawatomies. It is on the Kankakee, and they are going to settle there in the spring.

"A blessed field is open at this time for sending the Gospel to the Northwest. God is raising up preachers of the right kind for this glorious work. Nearly two hundred Pottawatomies have already joined them. These people have laid aside ardent spirits altogether; also stealing, lying, cheating, quarreling, fighting and all manner of sin. They keep the Sabbath day with all possible strictness, and speak feelingly of the Divine influence of the Holy Spirit, and they exhort each other to give their hearts to the Savior. I still have some hope that Chicago will some day receive the Gospel. I pray for the blessed time to roll on.

"Please to send me some instructions. My soul longs to see something done for these poor Indians. I heard you were sick in St. Louis, from which I hope you have recovered. I heard Brother Armstrong was sick, also; but I have learned he has gone home. I close, subscribing myself yours in the bonds of the Gospel of our blessed Master, Jesus Christ." (7)

"In 1830 he was appointed to Chicago Mission, in 1831 presiding elder two years, 1833, Chicago Mission again. This was his last appointment. At conference of 1834 he took a superannuated relation, and October 11, 1835, closed

7. Life of Bishop Roberts by Rev. Chas. Elliott, D. D. Cin., 1844, p. 319.

his earthly career, in death. Thus ends one of the most eventful lives of our age." (8)

Bishop Morris truly says: "But few men even of his day, performed more hard labor, or endured more privations, than Jesse Walker, and certainly no one performed his part with more cheerfulness or perseverence."(9) And he might have added for less compensation. For it is probable that for the entire thirty-two years of active and arduous service, he did not receive as much as fifty dollars a year salary. As late as 1830 the average pay of the preachers in Missouri was less than forty dollars a year. He was probably about sixty years old when he died. With his wonderful constitution there is no good reason why he should not have lived twenty-five or thirty years longer, to bless the world, if only he had taken care of his health. Probably we should say, if only he could have taken care of his health. As it was he gave his all, mind, life, energy, all for the souls and good of men. He truly gave his life for others that they might live. At the session of his conference which met in 1836, a memorial was adopted which closed as follows: "The last moments of our beloved and deceased brother were such as might be expected from his long and laborious life in the way of doing good. To a ministerial brother, who visited him shortly before his demise, he said that God had been with him from the time of his conversion, and was still with

8. Rev. Chas. J. Little, D. D., in Northwestern Christian Advocate, March 4, 1908.

"In 1830 Jesse Walker was appointed to Chicago Mission then including all the settlements north of Peoria. In Jan., 1832, one bitter cold Sunday he held his first communion service in the little town by the lake shore. Cholera and the Indians, however, soon dispersed this first Methodist society, which was re-organized with twenty-five members in 1834. This was Walker's last important work." Rev. Charles J. Little, D. D., in the Northwestern Christian Advocate, Chicago, March 4, 1908.

It wil thus be seen that Jesse Walker organized the first Methodist church in Chicago as he had in St. Louis ten years before. Such honor falls to the lot of very few men. It is hard to over-estimate the greatness of such a man. As the representative of all the qualifications of the eminent Methodist itinerant preachers, he stands easily first.

9. Miscellany by Morris, p. 192.

him. His last moments were tranquil and he died in full and confident hope of a blessed immortality." (10)

Missouri has had, and has now, illustrious and great men, but none has done more, probably, for the uplifting and for the welfare of the great Commonwealth of Missouri, than Jesse Walker. During his labors on our soil he occupied a large place in the affections and confidence of the people, and now, after three-quarters of a century, he is dearly beloved, and is held in as high regard by this generation as he was in his day, by our fathers.

The following pen picture by Bishop Morris makes prominent the personnel of the man: "Jesse Walker was a man about five feet six or seven inches high, of rather slender form with a sallow complexion, light hair, blue eyes, prominent cheek-bones and pleasant countenance, dressed in drab-colored clothes, made in plain style peculiar to the early Methodist preachers, his neck secured with a white cravat, and his head covered with a light-colored beaver nearly as large as a ladies' parasol—that was Jesse Walker."(11)

How did the early preachers live and support their families on their meager salaries?

If I were asked how Jesse Walker managed to support and rear a family when his entire income from the church would barely support a single person, I would confess frankly that I could not tell. But that in my opinion if the facts were known, that they would be found to be about as follows: That during his four years labors in Tennessee and Kentucky, that he probably cultivated some rented land each year, thus largely supplying the table with the necessary food. Then there was his wife. In her day the wife would spin, weave and make the family garments and often do work such as weaving for her neighbors for wages, and doubtless Madam Walker belonged to this working class and counted it no hardship. When he was sent to Illinois he doubtless left his family in Kentucky among friends till he could pro-

10. General Minutes for 1836.
11. Miscellany by Morris, p. 180.

vide a home for them in the new field. That he located a piece of Government land at no great distance from St. Louis and that during the winter he erected a cabin and made such improvements as he could and those the most needful against their coming.

At this point it is well to state that during the winter he did very little preaching because there were no houses in which the people could meet except the people's cabins, and they were generally so small, only a single room, that there was no room to accommodate a congregation. He could only visit the settlers, exhort them to live Godly lives and hold religious services for the family. So it will be seen that he would have ample spare time for the making of need "improvements" as the settlers used to say. Here he probably lived for several years, when he sold his homestead and moved to Cook county, where he "improved" another farm on which he was living at the time of his death. In this way, and only in this way, were our fathers in the ministry able to care for their families.

We have before us "the allowance" fixed by the board of stewards for a preacher and his wife in 1833. The circuit represented was one of the best in the Illinois conference. We will just state that the Discipline fixed the quarterage (cash salary) at $80 for the preacher and $80 for his wife, and authorized the board of stewards to fix the allowance for table expenses, etc., as shown below:

40 lbs. sugar at 10c	$ 4.00
20 lbs. coffee at 20c	4.00
400 lbs. beef and pork	10.00
10 lbs. cornmeal, 50c	5.00
400 lbs. flour	10.00
House rent, $2.00 per month	24.00
Fuel, six cords wood	6.00
Vegetables	3.00

It is known that some of J. O.'s brothers and sisters emigrated to Ohio and some, sisters I believe, settled in Kentucky. John O. married the Gracey mentioned in the enclosed letter. After his return from the expedition he traveled horseback and by boat on the Ohio to N. H. but the Betsey you inquire about he never paid much attention other than what neighborly courtesy demanded. Gracey lived near his family and after their marriage he returned with her to Missouri. It is known that he died there, also his wife and left no surviving children. My father, DR. Aaron Ordway of this City, just previous to the war, went to New Madrid, Mo. to investigate some matters, and found Serjeant J. O. once owned the best and largest part of the land upon which that city is situated. Early in the forties two men travelled horseback from Missouri to Hebron, N. H. to my grandfather. They told him they had purchased some land and to acquire a river front wanted him to release claim to a small strip of worthless swampy land which his brother J. O. Owned. After some bargaining they paid forty dollars to my grandfather, representing it as a very dear price, &c., &c. It never occurred to him that two men would hardly be likely to travel twelve hundred miles horseback for so little a sum, and years after he chuckled to his son, my father, over the fine bargain he had made which was the first any of grandpa's children knew anything of the transaction, they being all married and settled at a distance. So far as we know John O. never served in the Mexican or war of 1812. We know he had nephews and nieces living in Kentucky the children, we think, of his sisters or brothers. We have letters written from there in 1809, 1824, 1827. In the letter of 1809 J. O. is mentioned as living at New Madrid. From all we can learn he must have been a man of good business ability—shrewd and long headed. My father learned while in New Madrid that Serjeant O. bought claims of some of the soldiers who were his companions on the expedition. If you will communicate with Wm. Ordway Partridge, Sculptor, Boston, Mass. you may be able to glean something further. You had better do so at once. I would

attend to it, but am expecting to return to my home in San Francisco very soon.

Hoping this letter will be of some use I am very sincerely yours. MARTHA ORDWAY KIBBLER.

I folded the enclosed letter just as the old letter was folded. In those days there were no envelopes and the 25c in the upper right hand corner is the postage price for a letter for that distance. M. A. O. K.

My address is 437 Larkin St.
San Francisco, Calif.

I have answerd your letter for my sister Miss Mary E. Ordway.

Camp River Dubois, April the 8th 1804.

Honored Parents,

I now embrace this opportunity of writing to you once more to let you know where I am and where I am going. I am well thank God and in high Spirits. I am now on an expedition to the westward, with Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clark, who are appointed by the President of the United States to go on an expedition through the interior parts of North America. We are to ascend the Missouri River with a boat as far as it is navigable and then to go by land to the western ocean, if nothing prevents. This party consists of 25 picked men of the armey and country likewise and I am so happy to be one of them picked men from the armey and I and all the party are if we live to return to receive our discharge when ever we return again to the United States if we choose it. This place is on the Mississippi River and we are to start in ten days up the Missouri River. This has been our winter quarters. we expect to be gone eighteen months or two years, we are to receive a great reward for this expedition when we return. I am to receive 15 dollars a month and at least 400 ackers of first rate land and if we make great discoveries as we expect the United States has promised to make us great rewards, more than we are promised. for fear of accidents I wish to inform you that (then follows personal matters).

I have received no letter since Pretseys yet but will write next winter if I have a chance.

Yours &c
JOHN ORDWAY SEGT.

The above letter was copies from the original by
MARY E. ORDWAY,
grand niece of
Sergeant John Ordway.

Upper Louisiana, District of Cape Girardeau 16 miles above mouth of Ohio in the township of Tywappity, the 15th of Nov. 1807—

Dear Brother,

I now begin to write in earnest as I have wrote 4 letters and received no answer—I and Gracey are well at present but Gracey has been sick about 2 months with the fever and ague, but it has left her well & hearty & we hope these lines will find you all well. I have enjoyed a reasonable shear of health Since I left you. We had a good passage to this country. I have exchanged my 4 land warrants for improved land breeding mares and cows and calves at 600 & 40 dollars each. I have settled myself on the bank of the Mississippi, where I have two plantations under good cultivation peach and apple orchards, good buildings &c &c. which I had excellent good luck in trading for as it is exelent intervail land and a good situation. I have rented one of Sd farms to an honest man by the name of William Griffin who has 6 negro slaves, & I have firm obligations on sd Griffin for the yearly rents for five years, and I let him a part of my stock and am to give him one third of the increase during Sd five years. he is about to keep public house and ferry as it is a good stand. I have 2 hundred acres of first rate intervail land lying 2 miles below me towards the mouth of the Ohio. as Wm Griffin has moved in the house with me I expect to live with him until Spring and then move on the adjoining farm if I do not rent that also & if so I have 50 acres more which I purchased adjoining also which has on it a comfortable house and a handsome situation

which I had arranged matters to accommodate Brother William on one or other of those places, if any of my relation or acquaintances should see proper to come to this place I would endeavor to accommodate them with any of my places except that which I have rented and that I mean and am determined to live on after the five years, all the remainder of my days, as there is no better land in the world there is not one foot of waist land on all i own & all intervail and produces exactly as the Geography describes the country of New Madrid as it is only 40 miles above that town & is about half way between the mouth of the Missourie & New Madrid, rather nearest to New Madrid; 15 miles above is county Town Cape Girardeau & a thriving place & so soon as the number of inhabitants will admit another county will between the district of Cape Girardeau and the district of New Madrid as they join and when that takes place it will bring a town on my land as it is the best situation and a better place, as there is large settlements back of the intervails in the praries or beautiful plains which has in them beautiful groves of trees but is not so healthy as it is on the bank of the Mississippi and the soil is not so rich. the cotton as well as every thing else produces abundantly in this country. I wish to know where Brother William is I do not expect he has set out yet. Gracey sends hir love to all hir fathers family and yours not forgetting her grand marm nor any inquiring friends. She appears well contented hoping to see her relation next year, if William does not receive my letters give him this information & remember me to all enquiring friends and relations &c I am sir your well wishing Brother

JOHN ORDWAY.

Stephen Ordway

I beg you to write emmediately on your receiving this letter and please to inform me of all your welfare and where Brother William and Jeremiah Putnam is as I look for them in the Spring—

(On Back Sheet.)

25c.
Nov. 15 1807

Mr.
Stephen Ordway
Township of Hebron. Grafton
County. New Hampshire State.
by mail to Plymouth post-office in the
state of N. H.

THE ARCHIVES AT JEFFERSON CITY.*

One of the most encouraging tendencies from the point of view of the student of local history is the widespread and increasing interest in the preservation and arrangement of the state archives. Beginning in the older states, especially in New England, it has extended to nearly every section and resulted, in many states, in the organization of special departments for the purpose of assembling and preserving the official records. In Missouri, however, the student is confronted at the outset by the destruction of the first capital by fire in 1837, and with it the papers of the Department of State. As that Department was from the beginning the custodian of legislative and executive documents, the State Archives contain very imperfect records for the territorial and early state periods, and very little for the Spanish Regime.

It is doubtful if any considerable number of papers of the Spanish period were ever deposited with the central government in Missouri. The form of Government under the Spanish was very simple; a military despotism of a benevolent character, with a Lieutenant Governor at St. Louis, and Commandants at New Madrid, Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, and St. Charles. Under the Treaty of Purchase the Spanish were to remove all records except those concerning land titles, but many of the letters and papers of the Governors are preserved in private collections, especially those of the Missouri Historical Society and of Mr. Louis Houck. Such of the Instructions to and Reports from the Lieutenant Governors as have survived are in the Cuban Archives or at Simancas; transcripts of these may be found with the Missouri Historical Society.

The Spanish land records were left at the local posts and came eventually under the control of the counties. At present the St. Louis records are in the custody of the City of St. Louis, those of Ste. Genevieve and New Madrid are deposited with the

* A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, Dec. 17, 1907.

Missouri Historical Society, and the others are presumably in the county records. While the State possesses only a few official papers of the Spanish, the Land Department contains a mass of information as to Spanish grants and surveys. This was occasioned by the uncertainty as to land titles in 1804, and the unwillingness of the United States to confirm imperfect titles. The result was a series of acts and commissions, which called for the presentation of the original Spanish grants and surveys or evidence of actual settlement. The proofs were retained after the claims were confirmed and are the oldest documents preserved at Jefferson City. Not only are the original papers preserved, but they are copied into the Record Book of the Recorder of Land Titles, and are explained and amplified in the records of the various commissions. All these except the originals are indexed by number of claim and by name of claimant, and through the Exhibit of Private Land Claims, which notes every reference to every claim. Here is abundant material to reconstruct the extent of settlement in 1804, and much incidental information as to conditions before that date; with the local records already referred to, there may be drawn a reasonably complete picture of the development after 1770.

The papers as to private claims are not the only interesting and important series in the land department. Here may be found a complete set of the field notes of the original United States survey, a fair copy of the same, and the original plats—with the private claims the basis of all land titles in the State. The disposal of the various grants made by the National Government to the State—the swamp lands, the public improvement grant, the school, seminary and saline land—can be traced in detail. The New Madrid earthquake indemnity grants, so well known in the early history of the state, are all entered in the records. Less important, perhaps, but not less interesting are various surveys of the state boundaries, the original surveys of over two hundred state roads, and a record of the boundaries of municipal townships.

For administrative purposes the Land Department has been attached to the Department of State, but the records of the latter are quite distinct. None of them go back of 1838, with two exceptions; by some accident the election returns of 1836 escaped the fire, and the Civil Register back to 1820 was reconstructed after the fire. The semi-annual reports made by the Territorial Secretary to the President, now being indexed at Washington, are the only means of filling the gap for the Territorial period. The records of the Department of State fall naturally into three classes; Executive Records, Legislative Records and Administrative Records of the Department.

The Executive Records are remarkably extensive because the governor has never retained any papers except those in reference to cases not acted on, and private correspondence, and much of the latter has eventually found a place in the department records. When the governor decides on any official act, he sends an order, accompanied by the documents of the case to the Secretary. On this warrant the Secretary issues the appropriate paper—commission, pardon, proclamation or whatever it may be. The original papers are put on file and the order entered in the Register of Civil Proceedings. The paper issued is also recorded, usually on a duplicate form. The making of an appointment is the commonest act of the governor and the records of commissions issued the most extensive ones among the executive papers. Here should be noted the Register of Civil Officers from 1820 to date, giving the name, date of commission and office of every important official, state and county. The lists from 1860 to 1870 reflect the troubled times in frequent notes of officials who failed to take the various oaths of loyalty and forfeited their offices. The most interesting of the executive papers are not properly speaking official records at all, but the private correspondence of the governors as to appointments and party politics. For the earlier period especially there are numerous letters of application and endorsement, which give most interesting glimpses of political methods and the inside of party politics. Unfortunately the

more recent governors have been more careful to separate public and private correspondence.

Beside exercising the appointing power, the governor grants pardons, commutations and remitters, and honors or issues requisitions, and issues proclamations. The pardon papers are very extensive and contain much for the student of social conditions, but the requisitions include some items of general interest. Such for instance are those on the attempt to arrest and execute Joseph Smith from Nauvoo, as an accessory to the attempted assassination of ex-Governor Boggs, an attempt defeated by Stephen A. Douglas, then a local judge; the demands of the Illinois governor for the surrender of Missourians who crossed to Illinois to recover stolen goods from the Mormons and incidentally brought the Mormons over to Missouri for trial; and the troubles of Missouri slave owners who brought their runaways back from Illinois without much attention to the letter of the law.

The Secretary of State is the custodian of all records of the General Assembly, which include beside the original Laws and the Journals of the House and Senate, a mass of miscellaneous papers of every assembly since the tenth in 1838. These Legislative Documents fill one room in the basement and with the possible exception of the land records, are the most interesting collection in the Archives. Beginning with a bundle of bills of the tenth session "vetoed by the governor because of bad spelling" there is not a session without some items of interest. There are the reports of investigating committees of all sorts from those which took evidence on the behavior of the Missouri troops in the Seminole war to that which investigated the State University; the evidence presented in the various impeachments; and the evidence in the numerous contested elections. The reports of the standing committees and bills rejected or vetoed supplement the formal journals. For the earlier sessions the Legislative Documents include also the original reports of the heads of departments. And finally must be noted several collections of papers submitted by the Gover-

nor to the Assembly, especially the extensive lists on the expulsion of the Mormons and the Border troubles.

Four Conventions, beginning with that of 1845 have deposited their formal records and their miscellaneous papers with the Secretary of State. These include the original copies of three Constitutions, signed by the members of the Conventions, and the Emancipation Ordinance of 1865. Most important of all, because as yet unpublished, are the fifty eight volumes of reports on the speeches and debates in the Convention of 1875. In view of the present agitation for a new constitution, it is to be hoped that these proceedings will be printed for the use of the next convention. In connection with the conventions there is a certain interest in the original journal and resolutions of the so-called "rebel legislature" at Neosho and of the Missouri "Secession Ordinance."

The administrative functions of the Secretary of State have become somewhat less extensive with the creation of minor departments and commissions, but with growth of manufacturing and greater complexity of industrial organization his duties have increased in importance. In the vault of the department are the original Articles of Association, and all changes therein of every Missouri corporation organized under general acts since 1849. The State aid to Railroads before the war and the foreclosure and sale of these railroads during "reconstruction" times are represented by a mass of papers which afford material for a final study of these much discussed questions. The supervision of Banks and Banking Corporations has assumed such importance that the last Assembly created a new department to take over this work; the records in this connection run back to 1857 and include both the formal statements of the Banks and the reports of the Bank Examiners. All corporations now file annual reports and anti-trust affidavits, but those of the railroads and insurance companies are to be found in other departments.

Beside the general supervision of corporations, the Secretary of State receives and announces the results of elections.

The returns of the presidential elections since 1836, and of the state elections since 1838 are reasonably complete and cast a flood of light on political history before the war. The miscellaneous papers such as contracts for printing, for the building and alteration of the Capitol, letter books and letter files, licenses to pharmacists and auto-drivers, reports of state institutions, etc., are too numerous to catalog. Four of the great seals of the State have been preserved, including one of the earlier designs, with the bears crouching. The most interesting is the one carried off by Governor Jackson in 1861 and returned to Governor McClurg by Lieutenant Governor Reynolds. Governor McClurg's description of it in his letter of acknowledgement as the original seal of the State is an evident error.

Next to the Secretary of State in importance, but far behind him in the richness of his records, is the Auditor. His department apparently escaped the fire of 1837 unharmed, as his records run back to the territorial period, the oldest series dating from 1810. The Journal, a daily record of receipts and expenditures, and the Ledger, a classified record of expenditures are both complete from 1821 to the present time. The duplicate Treasurer's Receipts, showing all payments to the Auditor, are on file since 1810, and the Warrant vouchers, the receipted claims for the miscellaneous expenditures, since 1821. Taken altogether these records form a remarkably complete and well arranged record of the handling of the State's money since the beginning of the State government.

The assessing and collection of the state revenue is a second important duty of the Auditor and has resulted in a large number of volumes and files of collectors' settlements and of correspondence. The Auditor as a member of the State Board of Equalization has the care of the Journals and papers of that board. Of more general historical interest is the collection of early county assessment books, dating from 1816 to 1840 and giving the name and assessment of every real estate owner, or even, for the territorial, period, of every property owner. These with the numerous lists of delinquent taxpayers coming

down to quite recent time, will be of great value to the local antiquarian.

Although the State debt with the exception of the rather anomalous certificates of indebtedness is now happily a thing of the past, the records of the debt are preserved. At first the coupons as they were paid were cancelled and thrown into boxes, and checked off on the records, but early in the seventies a more elaborate system was devised. The coupons were pasted into enormous scrap books, a page for each bond, and the bond itself, when paid, was pasted to the top of the page. So the original bonds and the majority of the coupons are readily accessible. There is also an extensive record of the issuance and redemption of the Union Defence Warrants and Bonds of the War period. Under the general heading of bonds is included also the registration of all local bonds issued, municipal, county or school district.

The Treasurer in Missouri simply cares for the cash of the State, without control of the collection or disposal of the revenue. His books correspond in arrangement almost exactly with the accounts of the auditor, are balanced with them frequently, and have not been carefully preserved. Very few go back of 1865 and since that date the series is not complete. When preserved they add nothing to the information preserved in the Auditor's office.

From time to time, as some particular administrative function assumed especial importance, new departments and commissions have been created to meet the demand. The oldest of these is the Department of Education, organized first in 1839, merged with the Department of State in 1841 and finally established in 1853. Its records contain little of interest not included in the published reports except the extensive and much scattered letter files. The Department next in chronological order, the Registry of Land, has been reunited to the Department of State and its records have already been described. The Insurance Department, organized in 1869, has the general supervision of insurance com-

panies, domestic and foreign, with the special purpose of excluding fraudulent companies and preventing undue delay in the settlement of claims. In this connection all outside companies are required to keep on file not only copies of their articles of incorporation but numerous reports and certificates, proving their honesty and solvency, and a power of attorney permitting the Superintendent to receive service of writs addressed to them. The domestic companies, of late increasing in number and importance, are subjected to a close inspection. Not the least important function of the department is the assessment of the insurance tax on foreign corporations, a not inconsiderable item in the State revenue.

The Railroad and Warehouse Commission has not been granted as yet such extensive powers as in many western states, and has been concerned rather with individual cases of extortion and discrimination than with comprehensive plans of regulation, although it has the power to draw up tariffs. The title of the Supervisor of Building and Loan Associations explains his duties; the Bureau of Labor statistics collects the information and publishes reports on the products of the State and on conditions of employment. There are many other miscellaneous commissions and bureaus, but they are located away from Jefferson City, and do not therefore fall within the limits of this report.

The Governor exercises his powers as head of the State militia through the Adjutant General, who has general supervision of the militia and care of the military records of the State. This is a department which in times of peace attracts very little attention and in consequence has been badly handicapped in the task of completing and arranging its records by lack of funds. There is very little on record as to the expedition of the State militia, not mustered into the national service. Scattered about in various departments are fragmentary records of the Osage War, the last Indian difficulty in the State, of the Heatherly War, and the expedition to defend the northern boundary in the dispute with Iowa. Somewhat more complete records may be found in the Secretary of

State's office on the Mormon expedition, and the Border troubles, particularly on General Frost's Southwest expedition of 1860. In the Adjutant General's office are the papers of the Missouri troops in the Black Hawk war, the Seminole War and the Mexican war, the latter now in the process of arrangement and transfer to card records.

The break down of the regular State Government in 1861 and the determination of Governor Gamble to maintain as far as possible the autonomy of the state troops led to a bewildering system of nomenclature for the Missouri troops in the Union army. There were no less than sixteen distinct classes of troops and an unknown number of irregular organizations. With such complexity there was necessarily some confusion; many officers were negligent about depositing regimental records, but the original muster rolls and records of service as far as preserved are on file. The present Adjutant General, Gen. DeArmond, and his chief clerk, Mr. Thompson, have done much to make accessible these records of the self-devotion of Missourians; it is greatly to be regretted that the Confederate service is almost unrepresented.

The Judiciary, the third of the co-ordinate branches of government is particularly fortunate both in an unbroken series of records from the organization of the Territorial Court in 1805, and in a dignified and adequate building. The earliest Record Book begins with the first meeting of the Territorial Court at St. Louis in 1805, and this series continues until the Supreme Court ceased to meet at St. Louis in 1876. Other series contain the transactions of the Court at various places of meeting, until all others were abandoned and the Supreme Court was permanently located, as at present, at Jefferson City. In addition to these volumes of decisions of the Court there are some hundreds of filing boxes for the papers of the cases—abstracts of the evidence submitted to the lower court, details of the proceedings of the Supreme Court and the opinion of the court on which the decision was reached. These records have an added interest and importance when

one considers that neither the opinions nor the decisions of the Territorial Court, have ever been published.

Notwithstanding the most unfortunate conflagration of 1837, Missouri evidently possesses State Archives well up to the average in extent and value. The loss of the earlier records, regrettable as it is, can be partially supplied from the local records and private collections; the gap in the material for the earlier years of statehood is more irreparable. State Archives it must be remembered are always of a formal nature and leave almost untouched some of the most vital topics in the State's history, such as the every day life of the people, but for the student of the political life of the State, of its economic development and of its military history the Archives are indispensable, and for much of its land policy and for many incidents such as the Mormon troubles and the relations with the anti-slavery men in Kansas, they are the sole source of information. Less apparent perhaps is the opportunity for the genealogist, whose labors in this State with the lack of official records are so discouraging.

It must be admitted that the condition of the Archives leaves much to be desired. Missouri is better off than many of the surrounding states and than some much older. Except for the fire there has been, it would seem, very little actual destruction, practically none from the two most dangerous enemies of manuscripts, damp and vermin. But while the various series show remarkably few gaps, they are too often scattered in various rooms or even departments and in a state of great confusion. There are still some score of packing boxes full of papers of which only a superficial examination is possible. The reason for this unfortunate condition, a condition by no means peculiar to Missouri, is not far to seek. Since 1850 at least the Capitol has been inadequate to the demands. The remodeling in 1889 relieved an intolerable situation but made no allowance for the rapid increase in administrative business and in number of departments. The natural and in-

evitable results of this lack of space has been that papers not needed in the routine work of the departments and seldom referred to have been crowded into rooms in the basement, where they have lain in great confusion and accumulated an unwarranted amount of dirt. The present Secretary of State, Mr. Swanger, found at least half the records of his department boxed up in a dark room in the basement or piled on the floor. By detailing some of his clerical force from their routine work which today at any rate is as exacting as in any private enterprise, and drawing on his contingent fund, he has made accessible and roughly arranged the larger part of these papers, but much remains to be done. Other departments and that of the Adjutant General in particular, have shown a commendable zeal in improving conditions. The assistant clerk of the Supreme Court, Mr. Fisher, is taking advantage of the ample and convenient quarters in the new building to put the records of the Court in final order. But it is manifestly unfair to expect any administration today to remedy unaided a situation which has been developing for sixty years and is due primarily not to the fault of any one, but to conditions. Moreover, there would be a great economy of time and effort if the Archives were arranged, catalogued and labeled as a whole and in accord with a consistent and carefuly considered plan which could be followed for the future. This is not the work of one year or of one administration, but a beginning could and should be made at once. Of the states admitted to the Union in the same period as Missouri, Alabama and Mississippi have well organized departments for the care of the State Archives; of the neighboring States, Iowa has made very liberal appropriations for the same purpose, and Arkansas has made a beginning. The form of organization differs widely in various states; the Archives as a whole may be placed under the charge of the Secretary of State; an entirely distinct department may be created; the State Librarian may be the custodian. The best form is that best suited to local conditions

and is comparatively unimportant; the work is of the highest importance. It is hoped that it will receive the careful consideration of the next General Assembly. (1)

JONAS VILES.

1. The investigation on which this paper is based was made possible by the Archives Commission of the American Historical Association, which will publish soon a more elaborate Report on the Archives of Missouri.

MISSOURI OLD SETTLERS' DAY TALES.*

It must not be inferred that the use of the word "Tales" in this paper justifies the conclusion that either the warp and woof of the narratives, or the names and dates employed, are inventions of the imagination of the writer, having little or no foundation in fact. On the contrary they are all historically true.

Sam Cole at A Country Dance.

Cole's Fort was one of several stockade forts established in Central Missouri in 1812 for the protection of the early settlers. Hannah Cole, a widow with nine children, aided by her several grown sons, established the fort on a Missouri river bluff about a mile below the present city of Boonville, Cooper county, and on the south side of the river. This fort in 1816, the year before Boonville was established and a short time after Howard county was organized, was the capital of that county and David Barton, July 8, 1816, held the first circuit court there ever held in Central Missouri. In 1820 Barton was elected one of the United States Senators from Missouri. Thomas H. Benton was the other.

After the close of the war of 1812, Gilliard Rupe built a cabin at the mouth of Rupe's Branch in Boonville. In 1817 Wm. Bartlett erected and opened an Old Settlers' boarding house near the same spot. Bartlett's tavern soon became the center of dancing frolics and other social functions, which were largely attended by the young people, as well as by many of the older, of the region round about. Fashion, as we under-

* Read at the annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Dec. 10, 1904.

stand it, was unknown, and therefore both lads and lasses "tripped the light fantastic," to the inartistic but soul-stirring music of the fiddle; in the heavy shoes made by a neighborhood cobbler and in the rustic gowns and homespun and home-made coats and trousers of the settlers' cabins.

Sam Cole, the youngest son of the widow of the Fort, resolved one summer's afternoon to attend a dance at Bartlett's tavern. Not having been invited "cut no ice" with Sam, for in that respect he was on an equal footing with all the young men of the neighborhood. He however had neither coat nor trousers, his wardrobe consisting only of a tow-linen shirt which extended to his heels. His mother protested he must not appear at the dance in this garb, but Sam determined otherwise. He had a fat, sleek young bull perfectly tractable, which he rode everywhere instead of a saddle horse. Mounting the bull, he rode up the river to Bartlett's, dismounted, and hitched "Ball" to a tree on the river bank.

Those about the tavern gave Sam a cold reception. They guyed and made fun of him fearfully. Very soon he quailed before the storm of jibs and threats of ducking in the river, beat a hasty retreat to his bull, and mounting drove him into the river. Obeying the command to swim down stream Ball, the bull, "struck out" for home, Sam slipping from his back into the water and holding to his tail in safety until his return to the Fort.

Samuel Cole died in Cooper county soon after the close of the Civil War.

Vanbibber's Six Thousand Years' Philosophy.

Previous to the Revolutionary War, two brothers, Peter and Isaac Vanbibber, emigrated from Holland to America and settled in Botetourt county, Virginia. James, one of the sons of Peter, came to Missouri in 1800 and settled in St. Charles county; afterwards in Callaway. Isaac Vanbibber, Sr., brother of Peter, was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant, Va., in 1774, leaving a widow and four children, among the latter Isaac then only about three years of age. He was

adopted and raised by Daniel Boone and in 1800 came to Missouri with Nathan Boone and settled in Darst's Bottom, St. Charles county. Afterwards marrying, he settled at Loutre Lick on Loutre creek, Montgomery county, where he built a large two-story frame house, as a tavern. It was situated on the main road from St. Charles to the Boone's Lick country and was the stopping place of travelers and emigrants. The tavern was extensively patronized and Vanbibber realized a large amount of money out of it.

Isaac Vanbibber was very eccentric and became a very noted citizen. He omitted no opportunity to declare and enforce his belief that every six thousand years there was a recurrance of the same events in the world's history and of course in the history of all of its inhabitants. He was active and persistent in the defense of this peculiar philosophy. Neither the process by which he reached this strange conclusion nor the reasons he gave to defend it, have descended to this generation. He died in 1836.

A few years before his death, three young Kentuckians rode up on horseback to his tavern and stopped for the night. After supper Vanbibber, as was his custom, boldly declared his six thousand years recurring philosophy and defended it as best he could against the objections, ridicule and quibbles of the disbelieving Kentuckians.

Next morning, when preparing to leave on their journey westward, the Kentuckians concluded to play a practical joke on Vanbibber and to subject his professed faith in his philosophy to a business test. They said: "Now, Mr. Vanbibber, you believe we will all be here again, just as we are now, six thousand years hence; to test your belief in this doctrine we propose to give you our joint note for the amount of our bills, at 10 per cent interest, payable six thousand years after date." For a moment Vanbibber was in an embarrassing dilemma. Recovering from it, however, he replied: "You are smart young fellows all the way from Old Kaintuck, and I would at once accept your note and let you kap on, but I remember all three of you were here six thousand years ago and left without

paying your bills and now I am afraid to trust you. So you will have to 'shell out.'" And "shell out" they did.

Pioneer Club to Stimulate Love of Poetry.

Chauncey M. Depew in his speech at the 119th annual banquet of the New York Chamber of Commerce, at Delmonico's, November 15, 1887, referred to a student society in his college days organized to promote extemporaneous and sententious oratory; and to the fact that on one occasion the Professor of Rhetoric, who presided, called for him and said, "Sir, your time is three minutes; your subject, "The Immorality of the Soul." I was present at the banquet and heard the speech.

During the Old Settlers' Days in Central Missouri, and in Howard county, the writer was a member of a Society, which met at the school house, to stimulate a love for poetry and to cultivate a talent for producing it extemporaneously. Each member on being called for was expected to pronounce at least a couplet of his own composition or selection or pay a fine. J. H. H. had no taste for poetry, original or selected, and was never known to be inspired by "the divine afflatus" to the extent of attempting its composition. Evidently he had expected to use a certain couplet; but in the crisis of the call by the president he got the lines mixed and misfitted, and much to the amusement of the entire club and his own discomfiture gave out this laughable specimen of pioneer prose on stilts:

"She slips and she slides along;
A faithful friend is hard to find."

The Paroxysm of laughter into which the club was thrown threatened it with disrupture and drove "the poet laureate" incontinently from the house, never to return.

Two Old Settlers' Families Fight About a Flock of Geese.

During pioneer days in Boone county, Missouri, there occurred a serious scrimmage over a flock of geese in which both sexes engaged between the families of Robert Pickett and Smiley Lewis, who were near neighbors.

In the spring of the year the geese of the families ran at will in the bottom lands of a neighboring creek, and when feather picking time came it was the practice of the settlers to send to the creek bottom for their flocks and drive them home. Of course the flocks often become so mixed that trouble sometimes arose in determining property rights in the premises. Thus it developed in respect to the geese of the Pickett and Lewis families

One bright spring morning Mrs. Pickett sent Margaret Ann, the colored servant woman, to the creek bottom to "round up" her geese for picking. "Marg" was perhaps not as careful as she might have been or in every instance didn't know the Pickett from the Lewis geese. At all events Mrs. Lewis claimed that "Marg" had driven from the bottom some of her geese, and demanded that they be surrendered then and there. Mrs. Pickett refused to give them up and a lively tongue-lashing between the parties ensued. Finally Mrs. Lewis declared she would have her geese or she would "whip the whole shooting match."

Then she returned home, but soon returned with her husband and again demanded her geese. Mrs. Pickett again refused, and "Marg" seconded the motion. Harsh and angry words, in fact a fierce quarrel, followed. Mr. Pickett happened to be in the house, and hearing the quarrel came out and ordered the whole Lewis gang off the place. But Mr. Lewis swore in big round early settlers' phrase he would not go till his wife got her geese, whereupon Pickett rushed upon him with a piece of plank, knocking him down. Then Charles, a young son of Lewis, whizzed a rock at Pickett and made him bite the dust. Seeing this, the colored woman, Margaret, came to the rescue with an axe and flew at Charles, who at once took to his heels, jumped the fence and ran through the woods to the house of Reason Richards. He seemed almost scared to death and reported that "Bob Pickett had killed pap and I have killed Pickett, and I expect several more are dead by this time as I left them fighting."

Tom Richards, a son of Reason, hastened to the reported scene of slaughter and found nobody killed or even seriously wounded. Pickett was sitting in a chair in the house and his wife was bathing his forehead with camphor, the Lewises had left for home, and Maragaret Ann was in the stable lot feeding the geese with shelled corn.

Old Time Episode With a Bay Steer.

In pioneer times in "the wild and wooly west" the early settlers tanned their own leather and a shoemaker of the neighborhood manufactured all the footwear that was used. Store shoes were unknown and in many places even stores themselves.

"Uncle David Finley," as everybody in his part of Boone county, Missouri, called him, became indebted to the neighborhood shoemaker for making shoes for his family and the debt was to be discharged at hog killing time by a dressed hog. The killing occurred and "Uncle Dayy" was anxious to pay the debt. But he had no wagon or sled and the shoemaker lived about three or four miles away. How to get the hog to him was therefore a perplexing question.

It soon occurred to him, however, that he had a pair of gentle work steers, and he determined to fasten the hog on the back of one of them and lead him to the shoemaker's. This he did, with ropes, and "Buck" seeming to be all right the prospect was good to accomplish the journey.

"Uncle Davey," with one end of the lead rope in his hand, led the way and the steer with the dressed hog on his back followed. Unfortunately, however, after a few steps, "Buck" turned his eye to his side, took in the situation, become thoroughly frightened, sprang into the air with a loud shout, broke away from "Uncle Davy" and went through the adjacent woods jumping, bellowing and kicking with might and main.

Very soon the hog got under his belly and the situation became more frightful and "Buck" seemed beside himself. Finally he ran back into the yard from which he started, when "Aunt Abby" came out of the house and tried to pacify him

by a kindly "suke, suke." But this did no good, and when last reliably heard from the bay steer with the dressed hog under his belly was running and rearing and bawling as if old nick was after him horn and hounds.

Be this as it may the people in that neighborhood, although now of a new generation, have been laughing for more than fifty years over the incident here recited.

WILLIAM F. SWITZLER.

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Compiled by F. A. Sampson, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

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Concerning county supervision of schools. By Howard A. Gass, State Superintendent. Jeff. City, n. d. 16 p.

RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE.

30th annual report, year ending June 30, 1905. Jeff. City. [1906]. Bd. 589, IX p.

31st annual report year ending June 30, 1906. Jeff City. n. d. Bd. 700 v. p.

Special report concerning passenger earnings. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 8 p. Contained in Appendix to Journals.

Commissioners official railway map of Missouri. Chi. (c. 1907.) 42x50 inches.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Official Manual for 1905-1906. Jeff. City. n. d. Bd. 581, x p. Portraits.

Biennial report of Corporations. 1905-1906. Jeff. City. n. d. Pm. 3 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

Roster of state and county officers and official vote for supreme judge. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. pm. 39 p.

Brief of bills passed by the 44th General Assembly, 1907. n. t. p. 9 p.

Sixth biennial report on examination of the state banks of Missouri. Jeff. City, n. d. liii, 506 p.

Banking laws of the state of Missouri to take effect Jan. 15, 1909. (Laws of 1907.) Jeff. City, n. d. 47 p.

Provisions of the election laws, 1906. Jeff City, n. d. 178, II, p.

Laws relating to roads, highways and bridges revised to date. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 136, II p.

Outline of the primary election law, 44th General Assembly, 1907. Jeff. City. n. d. 11 p.

Primary election laws, 44th General Assembly, 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 47 p.

Provision of the election laws. 1906. Jeff. City. n. d. 178. II p.

Laws relating to roads, highways and bridges revised to date. 1907. Jeff. City. n. d. 136, II p.

Outline of the primary election law, 44th General Assembly. 1907. Jeff. City. n. d. 11 p.

Primary election laws, 44th General Assembly. 1907. Jeff. City, n. d. 13 p.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS.

9th Biennial report. 1905-1906. Printed by the boys at the school. Boonville, n. d. Pm. [47] p. pls.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals. 33 p.

TREASURER, STATE.

Biennial report to 44th General Assembly. Jeff. City, 1907. Leather, cl. and pm. 88 p.

Contained also in Appendix to Journals.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

Biennial report of Board of Curators for two years ending Dec. 31, 1906. Jeff. City, 1907. 327 p.

Presidents annual address to the Board of Curators, 1905-06. Columbia, 1906. 161 p.

Same for 1906-07. Columbia, 1907. 175 p.

Bulletins of the University of Missouri:

Vol. VII. Columbia, 1906.

No. 1, Jan., summer session, 3 p. 1 pl.

No. 2. Feb. Views. Obl. 32 p.

No. 3. Mch. Academic and teachers. 35 p.

No. 4. Apr., Law dept. 24 p.

No. 5. May. 64th catalog. 398 p.

No. 6. June. Dept of Medicine. [4] p.

No. 7. July, General Announcement. 8 p.

No. 8. Aug. School of Engineering. 12 [1] p.

No. 9. Sept. College of Agriculture. 16 p.

No. 10. Oct. Do. Winter Course. 48 p. ills.

No. 11. Nov. Second Semester. [4] p.

No. 12. Dec. Alumni Directory. 4 o. 105 p.

Vol. VIII. Columbia, 1907.

No. 1. Jan. The Success of the College Graduate, by Dr. J. C. Jones. 15 p.

No. 2. Feb. Views. Obl. 31 p.

No. 3. Mch. Summer Session. 29 p.

No. 4. Apr. Dept. of Law. 23 p.

No. 5. May. 65th catalog. 427 p.

No. 6. June. Teachers' College. 29 p.

No. 7. July. General announcement. 8 p. ills.

No. 8. Aug. Dept. Engineering. 16 p.

No. 9. Sept. College of Agriculture. 20 p.

No. 10. Oct. Medical Dept. 30 p. 6 pls.

No. 11. Nov. College of Agr. 23 p. ills.

No. 12. Dec. [Given as Vol. IX., Dec., 1908] 8 p. ills.

Circular of Information, issued by the committee on accredited schools. Fourth edition, revised. Columbia, 1907, 86 p.

Proceedings at the University of Missouri at the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Hon. Wm. Warner, U. S. Senator. Columbia, 1906. 15 p.

Summer course in geology and geography. Columbia. n. d. [4] p.

"Choosing a Profession," an address to the students by F. A. Delano. n. p., n. d. 12 p.

Analysis of problems in college athletics, by C. W. Hetherington. Columbia. n. d. 42 p.

Announcement of the Division of History and Political Science. 1907-08. Columbia, n. d. 24 p.

Publications by members of the faculty between June 1, 1900, and June 1, 1906. (Reprint from the President's Report.)

University of Missouri Studies:

Science Series. Vol. 1, No. 2, Jan., 1907.

The flora of Columbia, Missouri, and vicinity, by Francis Potter Daniels. 319 p. map.

Science Series. Vol. II, No. 1. Dec., 1907. An introduction to the Mechanics of the inner ear by Max Meyer, Ph. D. 139 [1] p.

University of Missouri News Letter:

A monthly publication, commencing Oct. 31, 1906, and issued monthly since.

School of Mines:

Missouri School of Mines (Book of 23 views. oblong). n. p. n. d.

NOTES.

Rev. Dr. W. A. Quayle was born at Parkville, Missouri, and from Parkville University received the batchelor's degree, the master's degree and the degree of doctor of literature, Allegheny College conferred the degree of Ph. D., and Depau University that of D. D. He was ordained a Methodist minister in 1886, was a fraternal delegate to the English Wesleyen Church in 1902, and later was a member of the Hymnal Revision Committee.

May 23, 1908, at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Baltimore he was elected a Bishop. He is the author of "The Poet's poet and other essays," "A study in current social theories," "A hero and some other folks," "The blessed life," "In God's out of doors," "Eternity in the heart," and "The prairies and the sea."

Among the late donations to the Society, a valuable one was made by Dr. Zopher Case, of Warrensburg, Missouri, a relative of the founder of the Case school of applied science in Cleveland, Ohio, consisting of about 4000 numbers of magazines and medical journals. Of the latter about 350 numbers were of Missouri medical journals.

"The Morals of Marcus" has been translated into Esperanto and was played in that language at a series of six matinees in May by Marie Doro and an especially selected company at one of Charles Frohman's London theaters. Sometime previous to that a church service was held in that language in Cambridge, the service, hymns and sermon being in Esperanto, and to this service persons came from all over Europe. At the assembly at Chautauqua, New York, this summer, Esperanto will have a prominent place on the program.

The Muskogee correspondent of the Kansas City Times tells of Miss Beulah Reynolds, who was born in Randolph

county, Missouri, and educated at Lexington, Missouri, being a regular deputy United States marshal in the eastern district of Oklahoma, and states that she is the only known woman deputy U. S. marshal. Some years ago Phoebe Cousins, of Missouri was a regular deputy of her father who was marshal of the eastern district of Missouri.

Henry Dorman, a civil war veteran, for thirty years a resident of Missouri, and at present residing at Liberal, Missouri, is now past 109 years of age. He enlisted from Michigan, in 1864, took part in the battle of Gettysburg and other engagements, and is now drawing a pension of $50 per month, by act of Congress.

Brig. Gen. James Shields, of the Civil War, was United States Senator from three states—Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri, and he held the above title in three wars. A bill has been introduced in Congress to appropriate $5,000 to erect a monument over his grave in St. Mary's cemetery, Carrollton, Missouri.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

The career of a journalist, By William Salisbury, New York, B. W. Dodge & Co., 1908.

This gives the experiences of a newspaper man in five American cities, two of which were in Missouri, on papers of every shade of political opinion, on papers "yellow" and papers "conservative." There is told so much of events and interviews that the author shows he published as facts and that were so only in his imagination, that one is undecided whether to take all the record of his career as real facts or not, but he holds the interest of the reader to the end of the book. It may not be adopted as a text book in a school of journalism, but a young journalist may learn many points in journalism from it and learn of customs and practices that he should try to avoid.

NECROLOGY.

Hon. Carl Frederick Arnoldi was born in the city of Alfeld, Germany, May 20, 1847, came to Missouri in 1866, married in 1868, moved to Mine La Motte the same year and to St. Francois county in 1901. In 1904 he was elected to the 43d General Assembly on the Republican ticket, the first Republican ever sent to the Legislature from that county. He died of Bright's disease at Flat River, April 5, 1908, and he was buried in the Masonic cemetery at Farmington.

Richard Aylett Barret was born in Clifland, Green county, Kentucky, June 21, 1834, and came with his parents to St. Louis when six years of age. His education was varied and was obtained from Phillips Exeter Academy, St. Louis University, Harvard College, Missouri Medical College, and the Universities of Bonn, Munich and Heidelberg. He afterwards studied law. During the Civil War he was a Union man and closely associated with Gen. Lyon, Gen. Farrar, Col. J. O. Broadhead and other Union leaders at St. Louis at the beginning of the war. After the war he was a prime mover in promoting the interests of the Agricultural and Mechanical Fair Association, and prepared for publication its Sixth annual Fair Report.

For a time he owned and edited the Gazette, of Burlington, Iowa, and returning to St. Louis he was connected with the Evening Dispatch, and the St. Louis Times. He was private secretary to his brother, Arthur B. Barret, while he was mayor of St. Louis, and held the same position with Mayor James H. Britton. He died in St. Louis April 6, 1908, and was buried in Bellefontaine cemetery, Bishop D. S. Tuttle officiating.

Judge Gustavus A. Finkelnburg was one of the most eminent jurists of Missouri, and a well known writer and speaker on legal and political topics. During the whole time of the existence of the Missouri Bar Association he was a

member of it, having helped to organize it in 1880. For some years he was an instructor in the St. Louis Law School. He was an ardent Republican and was the nominee of that party for Governor in 1876, and for Supreme Court judge in 1898.

He was born near Cologne, Prussia, April 6, 1837, and at an early age came to St. Charles, Missouri. After graduating from St. Charles College he graduated from the Cincinnati Law School, was admitted to the bar in Missouri in 1860, a member of the Missouri legislature from 1864 to 1868, and served two terms in Congress from 1868 to 1872. He was appointed judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, May 20, 1905, from which ill health compelled him to resign April 1, 1907. He was the author of the legal work "Practice in the Supreme Court and Courts of Appeals, St. Louis, 1894." For years he was a partner of Henry Hitchcock, brother of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, former Secretary of the Interior. He went to Colorado in search of health but died in Denver, May 18, 1908.

Judge Samual W. Hudson, president of the Missouri State board of agriculture, died at his home near Buckner, Jackson county, April 20, 1908. He was born March 2, 1842, on the farm where he died, and where he had spent his life, excepting four years in the Confederate army. He was educated at the Masonic College at Lexington and at William Jewell College at Liberty. He had served as judge of the Jackson county court.

Hon. H. F. Knippenberg, president of the Central Bank, of St. Charles, Missouri, a member of the House of Representatives in the thirty-seventh General Assembly, 1893, died at St. Charles, April 28, 1908.

Rev. Dr. J. O'B. Lowry for twenty-one years pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in Kansas City, from 1882 to 1903, when he accepted a call to Atlantic City, N. J., in hopes that his health would be benefited by the change, died there March, 1908. He was the author of "Truth Gleams," published at Philadelphia in 1891, and of which he presented a copy to the Historical Society.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF THE TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

THE MEETING AT COLUMBIA, MAY 2ND.

PRESIDENT.
E. M. VIOLETTE,
State Normal School,
Kirksville.

VICE PRESIDENT.
H. R. TUCKER,
McKinley High School,
St. Louis.

SECRETARY-TREASURER.
ANNA C. GILDAY,
Manual Training High School,
Kansas City.

EDITOR.
N. M. TRENHOLME,
University of Missouri,
Columbia.

The first meeting of the Missouri Society of the Teachers of History and Government has passed off successfully and left many pleasant and profitable memories behind in the minds of those who attended the sessions. In spite of the many counter attractions of High School Day the number of those present was larger than anyone had anticipated and all parts of the state were represented Even more satisfactory than the attendance, however, was the spirit shown and the interest taken in the papers and discussions. This is a fact that promises well for future meetings, and it has been a source of great encouragement to the officers of the Society. It is to be hoped that the good work begun at Columbia will be followed up, and a large membership enrolled by next year.

The morning session of the Society was called to order at a little after nine by President Loeb, who welcomed the teachers and referred briefly to the organization of the new Society. He then introduced Mr. H. R. Tucker, of the McKinley High School as the opener of the conference on "The Relation of History and Government in Secondary Schools." Mr. Tucker read a most interesting paper in which he showed by concrete examples and illustrations how important the

teaching of government was in history work, and how it should be interwoven with the political history of different countries. He did not seem to think that separate courses in History and in Government were practicable under present conditions, though favoring the separation of American History and American Government if such separation could be arranged. Mr. Tucker's paper was listened to with great interest and attention and provoked much favorable comment. The next contribution was a clear and interesting discussion by Superintendent M. A. O'Rear, of Boonville, on "The Teaching of Economics in High Schools." In this a plea was made for more recognition of the economic side of life in the school course of study, and the results achieved at Boonville in the field of economic study were referred to. The subject of history and the allied subjects were next ably discussed by Mr. C. M. Weyand, of the Moberly High School in a brief clear talk. The whole subject being thrown open to general discussion remarks were made by Professor Ellwood, of the Sociology Department of the University of Missouri, Mr. Shouse, of the Westport High School, Kansas City, Principal Phillips, of the Manual Training High School, Kansas City, Dr. R. G. Usher, of the History Department of Washington University, St. Louis, and by Mr. Shannon, of the Warrensburg Normal School, and possibly others. The Chairman called on Mr. Tucker to close the discussion, and also contributed to it himself. The meeting adjourned at eleven o'clock in order to attend the general conference of teachers in the University Auditorium.

At the second session held in the afternoon there were not quite so many present as at the morning meeting, but those who were able to attend were well repaid for their trouble, as the three papers read were all of unusual excellence. Dr. R. G. Usher, of Washington University, read a most interesting and at the same time scholarly and critical account of "The Mystery of Mary Stuart," while Dr. Frank F. Stephens, of the University of Missouri, gave a graphic description of the famous "Clay-Tyler Controversy of 1841,"

and Professor Jesse Lewis discussed in an original and forcible manner "The Educational Value of History as a School Subject." In addition to the foregoing papers an important business meeting was held at which the Constitution of the Society was formally adopted, after some discussion over the question of teachers of Economics and a few slight amendments. The Constitution as amended and adopted reads as follows:

Constitution of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government.

1. **Name**—This Society shall be known as the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government.

2. **Purpose**—The purpose of this Society shall be the improvement of the methods and the subject matter in the teaching of History, Government and Economics in all the schools of Missouri, the distribution of literature regarding such instruction, and the promotion of social relations among the teachers of those subjects in the graded school, the secondary schools, the Normal Schools and the Colleges and Universities of the State.

3. **Officers**—The officers of this Society shall be a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, an Editor, and an Executive Council. The President, the Vice President, the Secretary and Treasurer and the Editor shall be elected for a term of one year at the spring meeting of the Society. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Vice President, the Secretary and Treasurer, the Editor, all the ex-Presidents and three other members elected by the Society. The elected members shall hold office for three years each, one being elected each year.

The duties of the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary and Treasurer shall be those usually assigned to such officers.

The Editor shall be some one who resides in Columbia, Missouri, and who is connected with the University. It shall

be his duty to edit that portion of the Missouri Historical Review which is set aside for the use of this Society. He is empowered to appoint as many Assistant Editors as he may see fit.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to pass upon all applications for membership, to arrange for all meetings of the Society, and to transact all business of the Society not otherwise provided for. The Council shall meet at least two months prior to the time of the next preceding meeting of the Society to arrange the program of that meeting and to transact other business. In case the Council fails to meet within the required time the President shall proceed to arrange the program himself.

4. **Membership**—All persons who are engaged in the teaching of History, Government or Economics in any of the Schools in the State are eligible to membership in this Society. They may become members by applying for membership, and by paying the membership fee of one dollar after their names have been approved by the Executive Council. This fee will be due each year at the date of the spring meeting and if not paid within three months after that date, membership in this Society ceases. The fund created by this fee shall be used in defraying the incidental expenses of the Society.

5. **Meetings**—This Society shall hold two meetings each year. One shall be held in connection with the annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association of Missouri as the History Section of that body. With the permission of the State Teachers' Association the President, the Vice President, and the Secretary and Treasurer of this Society shall also act as the Chairman, the Vice Chairman, and the Secretary of the History Section of that body. The other meeting shall be held in April or May, the exact date of which shall be determined each year by the Executive Council. The spring meeting shall be the Annual Meeting of the Society for the election of officers and the transaction of general business. Every meeting shall be open to all persons interested in His-

tory, Government and Economics, but only members shall have the right to discuss matters of business and to vote.

6. **Official Organ**—The official organ of the Society shall be the Missouri Historical Review which shall be sent to all members paying the annual fee of one dollar.

7. **Amendments**—This Constitution may be amended at any meeting by a two-thirds vote of those present.

After the adoption of the constitution the Society proceeded to elect officers for 1908-9 and the election resulted as follows: President, E. M. Violette, of the Kirksville Normal; Vice President, H. R. Tucker, of the McKinley High School, St. Louis; Secretary and Treasurer, Anna C. Gilday, Manual Training High School, Kansas City; Editor, N. M. Trenholme, University of Missouri; Members of Council, Dr. R. G. Usher, of Washington University, Professor M. S. Wildman, of the University of Missouri, and Professor Jesse Lewis, of the Maryville Normal.

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